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Officials, Italian Press Criticize Refugee Decision

AU1508122691 Paris AFP in English 1152 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Jean-Paul Cadoret report]

[Text] Rome, Aug 15 (AFP) — Italy's volte-face decision to give temporary asylum to 1,500 Albanians who refused repatriation, drew strong criticism Thursday [15 August] in Italy and also in Albania where officials said there was no case for granting them political asylum.

The decision Wednesday to transfer the last Albanian refugees from Bari on the Adriatic to processing centres in the north, was widely viewed as a serious miscalculation which will only encourage more refugees to come and stiffen their resolve.

Reports from Tirana also roused fears that it might compromise budding cooperation between the two states in curbing the refugee exodus. Albanian officials reacted angrily saying Italy had gone back on its pledge to send home "with no exceptions" all the estimated 18,000 Albanians who landed there last week.

Albanian Prime Minister Ylli Bufi said the "Italian Government has itself acknowledged that there are no grounds for granting politial asylum to the refugees."

Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani, quoted in the MESSAGERO daily, said planned joint patrols off Albania by the Italian and Albanian navies would "not necessarily be effective" in preventing a new exodus.

In Italy, the government stands accused of capitulating to the most determined and violent of the Albanians, creating what could be a dangerous precedent. The Interior Ministry admitted that many of the Albanians in Bari were "armed and dangerous" and police there said some were suspected criminals or ex-agents of the Albanian secret police.

Interior Minister Vincenzo Scotti has insisted that the solution is "temporary" and that officials will get to work "very rapidly" to decide which of the Albanians are eligible for political refugee status. Officially, those denied asylum will be deported unless they can produce a valid employment contract.

But the assurances cut little ice with the public, since thousands of Albanians admitted last spring and who became liable for deportation in June are still in the country.

The influential CORRIERE DELLA SERA of Milan said the government had handled the crisis "in the traditional and steoreotyped Italian way, characterised by "muddling, corner-cutting expediency and deviousness".

In northern Italy, autonomist groups in Lombardy protested at the arrival of the Albanians and threatened demonstrations.

Italy meanwhile is counting the cost of a week of incidents in Bari: 20 billion liras (15 million dollars) worth of damage to property, 183 policemen wounded and two sub-machine guns and 20 hand guns seized.

Press correpondents at the Albanian port of Durres said many of the refugees sent home were bitter that Italy had given in to the diehards. One man was quoted as saying: "Italy, you have kept the worst among us. We were not armed. All we wanted was work and you sent us home. But we'll be back."

Alia Receives Reply From EC Commission on SFRY

AU1508092391 Tirana ATA in English 0849 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 15 (ATA) — Abel Matutes, member of the European Community Commission, has sent a message to the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, which says:

Mr. President,

President Delors, charged me to thank you for your letter of July 8, 1991 through which you wanted to attract his attention for the course of events in Yugoslavia.

The Community and its member states are pursuing with great preoccupation the development of the crisis in Yugoslavia. Laying the stress on their resolute opposition for any use of force, the Community and its member-states have incessanty demanded a peaceful solution of the crisis this country is undergoing.

I continue to hope that the efforts made by the Community and its member-states will open the road to a peaceful dialogue.

Please, be confident, Mister President, in the assurances of my highest consideration.

UN Development Bureau Opened in Tirana

AU1408135491 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 14 (ATA)—On August 13, UNDP [United Nations Development Program] Bureau in Tirana was inaugurated in the presence of the chairman of Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, and the UN deputy secretary general and UNDP administrator, William H. Draper III. Attending the ceremony organized on the occasion were also Kastriot Islami, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly; Gramoz Pashko and Zydi Pepa, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; other members of the government; representatives of the political parties, different departments and institutions, etc.

Present were also heads of the diplomatic representations accredited in Tirana.

Mr. William H. Draper and Premier Ylli Bufi greeted on the occasion.

Bufi Meets Draper

AU1408135191 Tirana ATA in English 1010 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 14 (ATA)—On August 13, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, received at the prime minister's seat the UN deputy secretary-general, administrator of the UNDP [UN Development Program], Mr. William H. Draper III.

During the talks, which were fruitful, they treated issues as the indispensability of the speedy stabilization of the situation in the country, the problem of promoting the economic reform, the need of supporting the reforms in Albania by the international community and various organisms of UNO.

The Premier Ylli Bufi pointed to the indispensability of the speedy promotion of the reform in the country and the financial support for the success of the political and economic reform in Albania.

Mr. William H. Draper III aired the readiness of UNO and its organisms as UNDP to help the realization of the reforms in Albania.

Alia Meets Draper

AU1408135791 Tirana ATA in English 1030 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 14 (ATA)—The president of the Republic, Ramiz Alia, received today before noon at the Palace of Brigades the UN deputy secretary general, UNDP [UN Development Program] administrator, Mr. William H. Draper III.

We, said President Ramiz Alia, appreciate very much your aid. UNDP has long since been present in Albania. But particularly over these last two years the aid has been more intensive and I have got to know your programs. We consider it as a very great aid to carry out the economic, political and social reforms launched in our country. Albania, he pointed out, is a tiny country but with great material and human potential, the political, democratic, economic changes will enhance people's creativeness to forge ahead. Recently, we have made a good progress particularly in the field of legislation. Economy, which is on the stage of transition to the market economy, needs aids,credits, investments. UNDP may help Albania with specialists of different fields for its recovery.

Further on President Ramiz Alia spoke of the work being done by the new pluralistic government for stabilizing the situation at home, the need to have a new constitution on the basis of which lie the fundamental human rights according to the Helsinki Charter and other UN documents. In conclusion, the Albanian president said that it is up to you to be the first in helping Albania, because you are the biggest UN organization and are headed by a personality with great practical American spirit.

On his part, Mr. William H. Draper said: I appreciate this meeting and the changes taking place in your country. We will help Albania to open to the world and carry out the reforms and other transformations towards an advanced society, he said.

Attending the reception which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere were also Petrit Skende, chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, and resident representative of UNDP in Albania, Jean-Nikols Marchal [name as received].

Democratic Alliance Views Situation in Mitrovica

AU1408115891 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 4 Aug 91 p 3

[C. Ibishi report: "Reservists Exacerbate the Situation"]

[Text] Mitrovica, 3 Aug—The political situation in Mitrovica and its vicinity is extremely grave and is deteriorating. This situation was caused by the measures of repression and the various forms of genocide practiced by the Serbian police state against the Albanians. This was the view taken by the most recent joint meeting of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK] and the chairmen of the 50 LDK sub-branches in this commune, chaired by Latif Berisha. This situation has been critical since the mass arming of the Serbs and Montenegrins, but has been further aggravated in recent days by the arrival of more bands of Chetniks and reservists, who are openly threatening the Albanians with mass extermination. In the evening, these reservists, armed with knives and revolvers, leave the town's Army barracks and the military depots in the village of Frasher (Svinjar) where they are stationed, and after drinking their fill of brandy in the drink shops of the Serbs and Montenegrins, drunkenly wander the town's streets, singing songs about Serbia, provoking the Albanian populace, and emboldening the Serbs and Montenegrins. Some young people are even beaten up at nights.

Vigilance and Readiness for Self-Defense

Military forces, joined by reservists and Chetniks with vehicles and even armored cars, wander from one place to another, even as far as the remotest villages of Shala e Bajgores, where they observe and take notes on the terrain and also conduct joint exercises, as if wishing at all costs to create the impression that they are numerous and present in all parts of Kosovo.

The meeting therefore laid stress on the need for committed vigilance, alertness, and a readiness for self-defense at all times against any possible assault by the Serbian police and military forces, which, inflamed by a lust for conquest not only in Kosovo, appear to have lost their heads and are provoking and maltreating the innocent Albanian population for no reason.

Without Bewilderment or Confusion

It was said at the meeting that the LDK must work to eliminate all bewilderment and confusion among the people. The foundation of the Coordinating Council of Albanian political parties and Dr. Ibrahim Rugova's election as its chairman were considered the first steps toward creating a national forum, because the council will coordinate work toward the realization of the ideal of national liberation. The meeting went on to discuss the situation in the media. As Latif Berisha said, there are dissenting voices against the LDK, discrediting it. Individuals accuse the LDK of doing little to solve the national issue. We have our strategy, Latif Berisha said. We have our plan for self-defense, and therefore cannot agree with those who call on us to launch into collective suicide. We must not allow people to become bewildered and confused, because our strength lies only in unity of thought and action.

The initiative of the Naim Frasheri Teachers Association to establish Albanian-language education on a self-financing basis was then supported, and people were called on to preserve their physical cultural heritage, especially at this time when some people are tearing down old walls in Mazhiq, Gurakuq (Strane), and other places. Old monuments should be preserved until conditions permit their restoration.

'Thousands' Attend Funeral of Kosovar Victims

AU1408171391 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 9 Aug 91 p 4

[Z. Hasimja report: "Two Victims of Serbian Terrorism"]

[Text] Djakovica, 8 Aug—The daily provocations of the armed formations of Serbian reservists of the Serboslav Army, which have been stationed for some time in the villages of Djakovica Commune along the Yugoslav-Albanian border, have escalated into terrorism with the murder for no reason at all of two young men, and the serious wounding of another. This act of unrestrained violence against the innocent Albanian population took place yesterday at 1430 in the mountains of Potok above the village of Molliq, when volleys from the Serbian reservists' automatic rifles killed Agim Cuni (24) and Binak Ahmeti (18) and seriously wounded Sadik Rrustemi (17), all three from Molliq.

According to statements by their parents, Agim, Binak, and Sadik were tending flocks in the mountains as usual. Their parents were informed of the cruel deed late yesterday evening by an officer from the Yugoslav Army's barracks in Djakovica. He said that the victims were in the hospital at Djakovica. It is not known for sure whether they were sent there by the Army or the police. The bodies were handed over at the hospital gate, in other words not in the office where the legal procedure relating to a post-mortem is usually carried out. The parents state that the Pec District public prosecutor did not even issue instructions for a post-mortem, although this is a legal obligation. Members of the families say that the police recommended them to receive the bodies without this procedure having been carried out. Meanwhile, the officer, whose name we have not managed to discover, "explained" the murder to the parents of the deceased, saying that at the critical moment "they attacked a patrol of military reservists." This tragedy at the cruel hands of the Chetnik-reservist hordes has caused strong rage and indignation among the local Albanian population, who are exposed to daily police and military provocations and are faced with great trials that reach the point of terror and tragedy, as in this case.

The two young victims of Serbian terrorism were buried with high honors in the graveyard at Molliq today. Thousands of people attended the sorrowful funeral. On behalf of the Interparty Council of Djakovica, Sokol Dobruna bade farewell to the deceased, who were members of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance.

Kosovo Border Village Complains of 'Military Rule'

AU1408152291 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 9 Aug 91 p 4

[B. Kajtazi report: "The Army Even Obstructs the Village Spring"]

[Text] The organs of government have not been operating for some time in Kosovo, unlike other parts of Yugoslavia! Total anarchy prevails in Kosovo in particular, and power is in the hands of the militia and Army. However, the Army once took pride in good cooperation with the Albanian population living in the villages along the Albanian border. Nothing of this kind can be said now! This population is now haunted by fear and thrust into the imaginary "ranks of the enemy," against whose equally imaginary "attack," to judge by the concentration of military, police, and reservist units along the Yugoslav-Albanian border, preparations are under way.

For the last month, the life and work of the residents of the village of Vrmica, an Albanian-inhabited village, have been totally disrupted by the Army units, with whom the villagers had no particular problems until recently. As villagers say, it is as if the Army has put the village under military rule, supposedly for the sake of guarding the border and preventing illegal crossings. Military patrols parade through the village at all hours, while a group of soldiers has even seized the spring that supplies the villagers with drinking water. The timetable for access to the water supply that used to be observed has been disrupted. Xheladin Covanaj said that previously, under our agreement with the Yugoslav Army border guards, the village obtained water from a cistern during the day, while the soldiers used the spring at night and filled the cistern for their own needs. This has now changed. Military guards now surround the spring and the cistern, stripped to their underwear and sunbathing as if on the beach.

The village's Kosovo Democratic Alliance sub-branch has protested such behavior by members of the Yugoslav Army, and formed a three- member delegation which requested a meeting with the units' commander. However, all discussion with the delegation was refused and its members were warned to leave the "border zone" immediately. Soldiers have also recently manhandled villagers. Some time ago, one of the village's shepherds, who is mentally handicapped, was struck by a rifle-butt for no reason and pushed into a bramble-bush. Soldiers also chased a boy who was tending livestock, aiming their guns at him, and traumatizing the child. Villagers are also being evicted from their shielings. Vrmica villagers say that provocations continued when soldiers, armed to the teeth, threw away old clothes in the middle of the village. Thus, local inhabitants do not have a moment's peace. People rightly ask who these braggarts are, members of the Yugoslav Army, or something else. Until recently, local people worked land in the border zone freely and with special border permits, but such permits are no longer recognized. Villagers cannot now enter the one-kilometer border cordon!

Policeman Killed in Raid on Military Storehouse

AU1408152591 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Aug 91 p 3

[ATA report: "Killed While Doing His Duty"]

[Text] Policeman Mehmet Resmi Rroti, age 27, born in the village of Pojan near Korce, was killed on 5 August during an attempt by a group of unidentified armed people to raid a military storehouse in the village of Bitincke in Korce District.

Baki Shehi and Neritan Ceka, chairman and deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for the Protection of Order and National Security, visited the family of the deceased and expressed condolences.

The funeral for Rroti was held yesterday.

Ali Jashari, secretary of the Korce District Executive Committee, read this pluralist committee's decision of 6 August, proclaiming the deceased a martyr to the homeland.

Committee Votes To Remove Hoxha Bas-Relief

AU1408185691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] In recent days, groups of people in the town of Berat have damaged the bas-relief commemorating the formation of the democratic government of Albania in November 1944, with the figure of Enver Hoxha in its center. On 10 August, the Pluralist Executive Committee, having obtained the approval of political forces in the district, decided to remove the bas-relief from the town center. The meeting also decided to remove the bust of Enver Hoxha from the center of the Perondi Agricultural Cooperative.

The Executive Committee instructed the Communal Services Enterprise and the cooperative to carry out the decisions.

Justice Minister Approves National Democratic Party

AU1408185991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The justice minister approved the application of the initiating commission for the creation of the Albanian National Democratic Party [Partia Nacional-Demokrate Shqiptare] on 14 August 1991, having established that the party's program and statute are in accordance with the Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions and the Law on Political Parties.

The relevant permit comes into effect immediately and was delivered to the initiating commission for this party's creation.

Finance Minister on Former Leaders' Corruption

AU1208174391 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 31 Jul 91 pp 1-3

[Report submitted by Finance Minister Genc Ruli on the results of an investigation of the accounts of the Directorate of Receptions; to the People's Assembly, on 30 July: "Criminal Abuses by Leaders of the Albanian Workers Party at the Expense of the People and Albania"]

[Text] [The following passage appears boxed at the beginning of the item] On 16 May, BASHKIMI was the first to publish an article entitled "Entry into the Directorate of Receptions Forbidden!," the first in a series of five articles on the serious financial abuses of the high-level leaders of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh]. At the same time, the newspaper asked the People's Assembly to look into this problem if at all possible, and to form a special commission.

Gjyl Brahimi, chairman of the special parliamentary commission formed to investigate abuses, read the conclusions of the investigation in the early hours of Tuesday, 30 July, when people were asleep (!), although the television was to have broadcast the information at 2000, after several days of unjustifiable delays. Gjyl Brahimi asked for the case to be handed over to the organs of justice.

Mr. Genc Ruli, minister of finance, then read the report on the investigations of the abuses committed by the high-level PPSh leadership, which we now publish. [end of boxed passage]

Honored Deputies, Mr. Speaker,

On the instructions of the government and the special parliamentary commission, allow me to submit to you the results of the state investigation conducted by the Finance Ministry and the State Control Commission into the organized abuses and malpractices of the former caste of high-level PPSh and state leaders. As you are aware, the Council of Ministers made a decision on the basis of the reports from this investigation that strongly condemned the decades-old practice of unscrupulous privileges as illegal and antinational, and decided to denounce and bring before the law the persons concerned. This act of the Council of Ministers is of special importance, first of all because it represents a decisive break between the new law-governed state and the past, when the utterly incompetent and corrupt ruling clique ignored the people's woes and lived at their expense, cynically abusing their trust, and seriously damaging the nation's life both by their total incompetence and by the privileged luxury in which they lived.

The results of the state investigation only cover the last two to three years, because this was all that was possible in the time at our disposal. Nevertheless, this investigation will continue with all seriousness and determination, and will extend further, finally exposing the truth about the abuses of the former party and state nomenclature, which have rightly so sensitized and disgusted public opinion today.

Investigations have so far been conducted in the former Directorate of Receptions and some other organizations.

The Directorate of Receptions was created in 1956 in order to serve the life-styles and activities of high-level officials of the PPSh, who were also installed in leading positions in the People's Assembly and the government. This is not all. This directorate was mainly in the service of their families, including their parents, their married children, and other relatives.

There was no legal basis for the many privileges provided for this caste by the Directorate of Receptions for years on end. The place of the law was usurped by Politburo Decision No. 39 of 23 July 1976, "On the Treatment of Leading Party and State Cadres," accompanied by a letter of the Council of Ministers. The contents of these documents were top secret. They were concealed from the people, and even the employees of the Directorate of Receptions were only allowed to know those aspects necessary for their work.

On this illegal basis, the economic and financial activities of the Directorate of Receptions consumed the state's financial resources to an extent that in the last 10 years alone it reached the sum of 200 million leks, much of it in hard currency. The directorate had a staff of 646 employees, involving a wage bill of 6,200,000 leks.

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of the investigations into the last three years conducted by the State Control Commission and the Finance Ministry, has reached the conclusion that the former party leadership created for itself every opportunity to acquire privileges and enrich itself, and that the sweat and labor of the people was misused and exploited, while the people were deceived by bogus and cynical propaganda about a struggle against privileges, luxury, and inequality.

Unfortunately, these opportunities were systematically exploited through the enforcement of the aforementioned Politburo decision, while the rights under this decision were also exceeded.

Let me start by describing the privileges and profits permitted according to the Politburo decision.

1. The cream of all food products produced in Albania and in some cases imported from abroad was supplied and consumed.

The 26 families that were cared for were supplied with an unlimited variety of high-quality food products.

During the period between September 1989 and September 1990, when a food rationing system was introduced for the entire population, the 26 families consumed every day an average of 62 kg of meat and meat products, 13 liters of oil, 12.5 kg of cheese, 86 liters of milk, 20 liters of wine and beer, 54 kg of fruit and vegetables, etc.

Under the food rationing system in Tirana, these quantities would have supplied 450 families with meat, 110 families with oil, 190 families with cheese, and 134 families with eggs.

The highest consumption in this one-year period was recorded by the Hoxha family, which was supplied with about 2 tonnes of meat and seven quintals of salami, 523 liters of oil, 3.1 quintals of butter, 326 liters of brandy and wine, 250 liters of beer, 5.3 tonnes of fruit, 114 kg of olives, almost one quintal of jam and honey, 1.5 quintals of hazelnuts, peanuts, and walnuts, 1.8 quintals of coffee, etc.

In 1989, the families were supplied with food to a value of 1,800,000 leks. According to the rules laid down in the Politburo decision, the value of the food set aside for service personnel for their families (Hoxha, Alia, Carcani) should be subtracted, as must the expenses of receptions, luncheons, and dinners organized in their homes, whose costs were borne by the state to a tune of 582,000 leks. As a result, 1,200,000 leks were spent, representing a major sum for the families concerned way beyond their legitimate incomes, if we also bear in mind their other living expenses such as rent, water, electricity, clothing, etc. The Hoxha family paid only 72,000 leks out of a total expenditure of 367,000 leks; the Alia family 25,000 leks out of 133,000 leks, and the Carcani family 57,000 leks out of 91,000 leks.

2. Politburo members and some members of the Central Committee obtained free food every day to a value of three leks (Ramiz Alia seven leks) per person, for themselves and for each other person present at the working meetings they organized. In 1990 alone, 200,000 leks were spent (35,000 leks each for Ramiz Alia and Adil

Carcani; 9,700,000 leks for Nexhmije Hoxha, etc.) It is typical that thousands of people were invited and such meetings were organized in the cinema and ping-pong hall erected in the compound, for Central Committee plenums, presidium meetings, party aktivs, etc. Moreover, Kico Mustaqi, Besnik Bekteshi, Hajredin Celiku, Llambi Gegprifti, Foto Cami, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, etc. also organized receptions in stadiums, while Qirjako Mihali, Hekuran Isai, Llambi Gegprifti, Foto Cami, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, etc. organized such events in special places during hunting parties, on which they also took with them escorts with wages and living allowances and personnel from their villas, which involved expenses for gasoline, etc. An average of three leks per person was spent by the Central Committee offices every month for 200 people, while 20,000 leks were spent during plenum sessions during 1990, and Pirro Kondi spent 1,260 leks in one month for his Tirana party staff of 30.

3. Financial privileges for annual vacations were provided for the party and state caste. Politburo members and candidate members and their spouses were granted 12.5 leks per day and the difference of 3.2 leks over and above the amount allotted for other employees was met by the state. Thus, this sum amounts to 192 leks per year for each family, and for all these families totaled 11,424 leks in the last three years.

4. Costs of light, water, rent, and heating were mainly covered by the state. For instance, the families paid only 50 percent of their rent and electricity bills, and 25 percent of their fuel bills, never more than 250 leks per month, while those who were relocated paid nothing for the first three months.

As a result, in the 1989-February 1991 period alone, the families paid 180,000 leks, and the state 840,000 leks, or 4.7 times more.

The highest bills were for Besnik Bekteshi at 75.000 leks; Pali Miska at 61,000 leks; Lenka Cuko at 57,000 leks; Nexhmije Hoxha at 51,000 leks; Pirro Kondi and Prokop Murra at 48,000 leks each; Adil Carcani, Hekuran Isai, Llambi Gegprifti, Spiro Koleka, Haxhi Lleshi, and Vangjel Cerrava, at 42,000-47,000 leks; the bills of the others amounted to between 22,000 and 40,000 leks.

5. The Directorate of Receptions covered high telephone bills for calls abroad for the families of Ramiz Alia, Nexhmije Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, and Spiro Koleka. The telephone bills of others were covered by the Central Committee, ministries, and the Council of Ministers.

The bill for the 19 telephone numbers of Nexhmije Hoxha's family amounted to 533,000 leks for the last three years; 456,000 leks for Ramiz Alia's family; 101,000 leks for Spiro Koleka's family; 58,000 leks for Haxhi Lleshi's family; 56,000 leks for Llambi Gegprifti's family; 46,000 leks for Rita Marko's family; and 9,000 leks for Themie Thomai in 1989 alone, making a total (besides the bills covered by the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers) of 1,300,000 leks or $186,000.

For instance, in 1989 alone, the Hoxha family made 441 calls to Paris at a cost of 189,000 leks; 210 calls to Vienna at a cost of 98,000 leks; 188 calls to Rome, and 38 calls to Milan, Ankara, Budapest, Palermo, Geneva, Berlin, Stockholm, etc. There were also telephone calls to Corfu, Zurich, Isburg [place name as published], Athens, the Netherlands, Algeria, etc.

It is striking that two or three calls were made in one day to the same place, and that in some cases they lasted more than one hour.

Likewise in 1989, the Alia family's telephone bill reached 251,000 leks and included 481 calls to Paris, 163 calls to Rome, 58 calls to Vienna, 24 calls to Geneva, 13 calls to Budapest, and three calls each to Ankara, Turin, and Berlin, alongside other calls to Belgrade, Athens, Bonn, etc. Other families' telephone bills were also extremely high.

Because these bills were paid by the state, these families consciously committed abuses, telephoning all the major cities of Europe for personal purposes. Therefore, 1,300,000 leks must be considered as misused or improperly gained.

6. The Special Clinic was another privileged institution for the ruling caste.

Between 1988 and April 1991, the clinic spent 3,200,000 leks, including 1,200,000 for medicines. Under Politburo Decision No. 39, persons so favored received free medicines to a value of 377,000 leks between 1988 and 1990. These medicines were bought in the pharmacies of Paris and Vienna, and were only for favored persons and were not stocked by our pharmacies for the people. Moreover, they were bought at the state's expense for favored persons and for friends and acquaintances of their circle.

Nexhmije Hoxha's family received free medicines to a value of 38,500 leks, and the value of medicines supplied to the families of others was as follows: Adil Carcani, 9,500 leks; Haki Toska, 14,700 leks; Ramiz Alia, Manush Myftiu, Qirjako Mihali, and Xhafer Spahiu, 9,000 leks each; Rita Marko, 6,057 leks, Besnik Bekteshi, 5,035 leks, etc.

7. The Ministry of Health was also a source of gain and abuses. The relevant parliamentary commission has reported in detail on the abuses committed in this sector. The families of high-level officials exploited their position and the agency of the former health minister, Ahmet Kamberi, in order to travel abroad at the state's expense, supposedly for treatment. They mainly preferred expensive clinics in Paris, where about $150,000 were spent in the last two years. They also took members of their family, doctors, guards, etc. as escorts.

The sum of $33,000 was spent for members of Nexhmije Hoxha's family circle, and their travel was mainly for medical purposes, unsupervised by the Special Clinic. The five persons sent were unnecessarily accompanied

by eight other members of the family, doctors, and service personnel, and their stay totaled about 500 days.

Sokol Hoxha and his wife and two escorts stayed for 27 days, spending $9,800, one half of which was used as a living allowance.

For another of their children, who was also treated in Albania, the sum of $11,307 was spent in Paris, apart from the cost of tickets for him and two escorts. Meanwhile, a niece with one escort spent $11,200 in Paris and 4,822 leks for the journey.

The sums of $29,729 and 32,000 leks for tickets were spent on medical trips to Paris and Vienna by three members of the family of Manush Myftiu, besides expenditure in 1990 for which bills had still not been sent at the time of the investigations.

Manush Myftiu's daughter-in-law was sent to Vienna for treatment at a cost of $3,800, although the commission of the Special Clinic did not approve the journey, because treatment for migraine was available here.

Pilo Peristeri was sent to Paris together with his wife and an escort and spent 35 days there at a cost of $7,330 and 9,584 leks for tickets, although the commission of the Special Clinic had decided otherwise and had ensured the best possible conditions for his prostate operation.

Teuta Nushi was sent to Paris last year without either a commission decision or any reference from the clinic treating her. Although she stayed 43 days and spent $5,720 for treatment and 2,469 leks for her ticket, the Health Ministry possesses no medical records from Paris or details about her illness.

Besnik Bekteshi's daughter was sent to Vienna for migraine treatment at a cost of $3,400, although the commission of the Special Clinic was against sending her, because we have many migraine specialists and the treatment is the same here as there. Nevertheless, she stayed 21 days, not seven as ordered by the ministry. The sum of $670 was also spent on Besnik Bekteshi's nephew, and he was sent without a decision of the commission.

Reis Malile's wife spent about $21,000 on a 76-day stay in Vienna and Paris.

The sum of $11,700 was spent on Haki Toska's family for a total of 300 days in Paris, both on himself and on two other members of his family under treatment. The Special Clinic issued no reference for the latter two, and there is no medical documentation to permit an assessment.

Contrary to the decision of the Special Clinic's commission, the Health Ministry sent accompanying doctors for Tefta Cami and for Qirjako Mihali's daughter-in-law, who stayed abroad for 38 and 26 days respectively and incurred $965 and $757 in expenses.

The families of some other officials sent abroad by the medical commission also incurred large expenditure. Six members of Foto Cami's family stayed abroad for 110 days as a cost of $7,893. Xhelil Gjoni's wife and two escorts stayed abroad for 113 days at a cost of $8,460. The sum of $15,570 was spent on Sulo Gradeci and his wife, who stayed abroad for 11 days; $4,610 were spent on Enver Halili, etc.

For the sums expended in Paris for these personalities, 3.5 times more people, or 58 more patients, could have been sent to clinics in Eastern countries.

8. A considerable number of staff were maintained, paid, and fed in the service of the families of Politburo members and candidate members, members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, party Central Committee secretaries, and certain other people. Two or three servants were allocated to all the above-mentioned families, while Nexhmije Hoxha's family had a staff of 20 and Ramiz Alia's a staff of 12. The wage bill for this staff amounted to 2,200,000 leks in the last three years.

In particular, the wage bills for the family of Nexhmije Hoxha amounted to 406,000 leks for the year of 1988-1990 [date as published], 260,000 leks for the family of Ramiz Alia, 102,000 leks for the family of Adil Carcani, and 70,000-75,000 leks for the families of Hajredin Celiku, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Besnik Bekteshi, Hekuran Isai, Rita Marko, Prokop Murra, Simon Stefani, Foto Cami, etc.

Besides this, many staff of the Directorate of Receptions received wage bonuses of up to 25 percent for special services, at a cost of 25,700 leks in the last three years.

Staff in the domestic service of these families were also allocated seven leks' worth of food per day, at a cost of 584,000 leks in the last three years. This sum has been subtracted from the food bills of the families themselves.

In investigations conducted in some families, the staff have stated that they did not in fact receive their allowances, although the sum was subtracted from the food bills of the privileged families.

The families of Nexhmije Hoxha and Ramiz Alia, besides their domestic staff, had at their disposal escorts of officers and other staff who were fed in special restaurants. In 1990 alone, the state spent 55,000 leks feeding the staff at the disposal of Nexhmije Hoxha's family, and 107,000 leks for the staff at the disposal of Ramiz Alia.

9. Packages were sent from embassies and different countries of the world, marked DP [Directorate of Receptions] or with other initials.

In 1989 and 1990, 1,323 packages initialed "Directorate of Receptions, 294 packages marked "X31 and "DSh" (Press Directorate), and 335 other packages addressed to individual families arrived at the Customs Offices at Rinas, Tirana, and Durres alone. These packages were not inspected by customs, under a secret instruction. Hundreds or thousands of other parcels from different

places arriving at different customs points without documentation or customs inspection are not taken into account here. Under such circumstances, there are no records of the number of parcels or what they contained.

Besides the parcels arriving at the address of the Directorate of Receptions, there were also plenty of packages for individual families, of course duty free and without customs inspection. For instance, in the year 1989-1990, Nexhmije Hoxha's family received 294 packages, Simon Stefani 32, Qirjako Mihali 25, Haxhi Lleshi 101, Lenka Cuko and Spiro Koleka 24 each, Besnik Bekteshi 47, Shefqet Peci nine, and Hajredin Celiku, Pilo Peristeri, Kico Mustaqi, and Manush Myftiu six each.

10. The Presidium of the People's Assembly and some ministries spent considerable sums on typewriters and office supplies, and especially on color film and photographs of leaders and their families.

For instance, Rita Marko spent 2,371 leks on color film between 1986 and 1990, and the costs of developing and printing were borne by the party Central Committee and ATA, who each year spent about 30,000 leks on photographs marked "leadership."

At a time when there were special decrees cutting administrative expenditure for office equipment and investment in the non- productive sector, Pali Miska spent 300,000 leks in 1988 for the renovation and luxurious decoration of his office in the Ministry of Agriculture, Hajredin Celiku spent 145,000 leks in the Ministry of Transportation, and Llambi Gegprifti spent 127,000 leks in the Executive Committee of the District People's Council. 11. Between 1988 and 1990, the delegation car fleet placed cars and chauffeurs at the disposal of a large number of party and state personalities and five pensioners (H. Lleshi, Sh. Peci, S. Koleka, P. Peristeri, and H. Toska). A joint instruction issued by the Ministry of Transportation and the Finance Ministry on 13 March 1972, numbered 817 and 368, made these services free of charge.

If invoices had been issued for these services, the car fleet would have earned 1.8 million leks. We emphasize that 70 percent of these services were for the five pensioners.

The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies has done significant economic damage to the state.

Political books, especially those by Enver Hoxha, were produced and placed on sale in enormous editions, creating stockpiles for years on end, and wasting labor, raw materials, electricity, production capacity, other resources, and considerable amounts of foreign currency.

On the instructions of this institute, the publishing plan for titles by Enver Hoxha was exceeded by 24 percent in the last three years, while the plan for other artistic, scientific, and historical books was only 90 percent fulfilled. During this period, 60 percent of the total quantity of imported high-quality paper, valued at 4.1 million leks, was used for books by Enver Hoxha, although these books comprised only 16 percent of the titles printed.

Between 1984 and 1990, the production and marketing of political literature (by Enver Hoxha) cost 35,900,000 leks, of which 28,500,000 were covered by the 8 November Publishing House, while the 7,400,000 leks representing the difference between the price and the real cost was met by the state budget. Of this subsidy, 5,900,000 leks were for the publication of the series of Hoxha's works alone.

At present, the Book Distribution Enterprise has a stockpile of 10 million leks worth of books, created down the years. More than 70 percent of this consists of standard works, pamphlets, albums, and other books by Enver Hoxha, Stalin, and others. Books by Enver Hoxha alone account for 4,600,000 leks and the album dedicated to him accounts for 371,000 leks.

Besides this, stockpiled political literature in bookstores in the districts is thought to be worth about 30 million leks.

The Book Distribution Enterprise has thrown away about 500,000 leks worth of unsold political literature because of poor storage conditions.

The export of books, mainly of works by Enver Hoxha and PPSh literature, was another negative factor that did significant economic damage to the state.

The earnings from book exports between 1986 and 1990 did not cover the 3,100,000 leks spent on wages, transportation, bank interest payments, etc., and a loss of 600,000 leks was incurred. A loss of 682,000 leks was recorded as a result of the dispatch of books for resale with delayed payment to 1,000 foreigners. Meanwhile, the bank interest charge on the credit made available for stockpiled export goods amounted to 750,000 leks over five years.

The imbalance between book imports and exports resulted in a loss of 3,700,000 hard-currency leks.

Foreign literature was normally imported by individual order, and was normally paid for by the individual concerned. However, there were cases in which the state suffered economically.

Nexhmije Hoxha did not pay her subscriptions for literature to a value of 3,064 leks in 1986, 1987, 1988, and 1989, while her subscriptions for 1990 were improperly paid by the General Council of the Democratic Front.

Muho Asllani subscribed to the magazine FRANCE FOOTBALL in 1987, 1988, and 1989, but the subscription charge of 2,612 leks was improperly paid by the Durres and Shkoder district party committees.

Lenka Cuko, like Nexhmije Hoxha, subscribed to literature that had nothing to do with her work. In 1989 and 1990, her subscriptions amounted to 1,684 leks, and they have not been paid.

The Book Distribution Enterprise was granted a bank credit of 20 million leks, mainly for stockpiled literature. This was unfair and unlikely to be recovered because of the poor sales prospects of these books.

The limitless zeal of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies is the principal cause of economic damage to the state amounting to 15 million leks, of which 7,400,000 leks represents the budgetary financing of a loss resulting from the gap between prices and total production costs, 7 million leks results from inventoried stockpiled books, and 600,000 leks from interest charges in financing this stockpile.

Privileges, Acquisitions, and Abuses Even Beyond the Limits Permitted by the Politburo's Illegal Decision

1. These people lived in luxurious villas, furnished beyond the standards laid down in the decision.

The 82 residential villas and vacation homes used by the families cost the state about 85 million leks, and their furnishings 25 million leks. The Hoxha family alone had at its disposal two residential villas and four holiday villas valued at 26 million leks with furnishings valued at 10 million leks, while the other families had a residential villa and a holiday villa each, although the decision did not provide for personal holiday homes. The personal villas of Haki Toska, Spiro Koleka, Vito Kapo, Manush Myftiu, Lenka Cuko, Rita Marko, Hekuran Isai, Pali Miska, Simon Stefani, Hajredin Celiku, Besnik Bekteshi, etc. cost between 1 million and 2 million leks and had plenty of living space. By our standards, each one of them could have housed seven or eight families.

There were no special criteria to determine living conditions, and in practice the former leaders added to their living space as they saw fit.

In practice, the former leaders' demands for housing and their funds for investment were submitted by the Directorate of Receptions to the prime minister or his deputy, who approved them without hesitation.

Data from the 1980-1990 period show that 17 apartments were enlarged, three flats were rebuilt, and three new holiday villas were built in Durres, none of them dictated by family needs, and at a cost of more than 8 million leks.

For instance, more than 657,000 leks were spent on Foto Cami's apartment in 1988, although roof reconstruction was all that was required. Three rooms and three bathrooms were added to make a total of 11 rooms and 5 bathrooms for a family of four. The sum of 400,000 leks was spent on the apartment of Manush Myftiu in 1988, although only roof reconstruction and cladding for an extension were necessary. Four rooms and three bathrooms were added, to make a total of 12 rooms and six bathrooms for a family of only six. Work began on the repair of the roof of Lenka Cuko's apartment in 1986, but changes were made to other parts of the building at her request. Four rooms and two bathrooms were added, making a total of 15 rooms and five bathrooms. Besnik Bekteshi's accommodation consisted of 10 rooms and three bathrooms, and in 1986 three rooms and three bathrooms were added for a family of six, at a cost of 312,000 leks. In 1988, 626,000 leks were spent on adding four rooms and three bathrooms to Simon Stefani's home, although it already contained eight rooms and three bathrooms for a family of eight, etc.

Extensions not required by family needs were also added to the holiday villas on Durres beach. For instance, five rooms and four bathrooms were added to Pali Miska's villa, which had four rooms and two bathrooms, at a cost of 400,000 leks. In 1987, three rooms and two bathrooms were added to Hekuran Isai's house, which had seven rooms and two bathrooms. In 1985, 230,000 leks were spent adding two rooms and four bathrooms to Qirjako Mihali's house, which had five rooms and one bathroom, etc.

It is worth emphasizing that Politburo Decision No. 39, dated 23 March 1976, did not state that the former leaders should have personal holiday villas. The text states explicitly: "For vacations, accommodation in leisure facilities may be obtained on request." In fact, all the former leaders had villas for their exclusive use on Durres beach. New villas were even built for new leaders, as in the case of Llambi Gegprifti, who built a new villa in 1987, although he already had a villa at his disposal. Villas were also built for Pirro Kondi and Vangjel Cerrava.

To mention their permanent home alone, the Hoxha family's principal palace had furniture worth 2 million leks, including 262 armchairs, couches, and living-room sofas worth 430,000 leks; 47 cupboards with mirrors worth 71,000 leks; 556 lamps and lampshades worth 314,000 leks; 28 refrigerators worth 133,000 leks; 29 television sets and video recorders worth 178,000 leks; 65 bookshelves and bedroom wardrobes worth 448,000 leks; 200 wool carpets and stair carpets worth 73,000 leks, 3,747 square meters of rugs and wallpaper worth 900,000 leks, as well as heating, air conditioning, and cleaning equipment, cameras, and telephones of considerable value.

The villas of other families were also stuffed with furniture, although even Politburo Decision No.39 of 1976 permitted the state to pay for the purchase and maintenance of furniture only in offices, reception rooms, and dining rooms to a value of 250,000 leks, and not in other rooms or those of children, grandchildren, etc.

This decision therefore allowed for 6,500,000 leks, or one quarter of the 25 million leks which is the value of the contents of these residential and vacation villas. The outstanding 18,500,000 leks represent excessive expenditure on luxury and a form of privileged abuse.

Even if we take the Politburo decision as [passage dropped in original], the depreciation value of the equipment beyond the amount permitted represents an economically damaging form of abuse. Calculating its depreciation during the last three years, we reach a sum of 2,700,000 leks. The Hoxha family accounts for 1,400,000 leks of this, the Alia family 372,000 leks, Adil Carcani's family 105,000 leks, Hekuran Isai's family 102,000 leks, Vito Kapo's family 96,000 leks, Manush Myftiu's family 78,000 leks, Lenka Cuko's family 60,000 leks, and the families of Foto Cami and Simon Stefani 51,000 leks each. The families of Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Qirjako Mihali and Prokop Murra each account for between 42,000 and 48,000 leks, Pirro Kondi's family for 39,000 leks, and the families of Besnik Bekteshi and Vangjel Cerrava for 36,000 leks each, etc.

The Physical Inventory of the Families' Possessions Has Concluded

When the families were moved out of the residential villas, some persons stripped the houses of built-in fittings and caused damage. For instance, Haki Toska's family did damage to a value of 11,100,000 leks, Manush Myftiu 5,300,000 leks worth, Qirjako Mihali 4,300,000 leks, Prokop Murra 1,300,000 leks, etc.

It has also been discovered that 90,000 leks worth of household equipment has gone missing, which requires compensation, as does the damage done. The following are responsible for missing equipment to the value indicated: Lenka Cuko, 31,300 leks; Hekuran Isai and Rita Marko, about 17,000 leks each; Prokop Murra, 5,400 leks, Besnik Bekteshi, 4,300 leks, and Pirro Kondi, 3,300 leks.

Besides this, the commission estimated the value of appliances the families retained, and received the sum of 750,000 leks. The other appliances were confiscated.

The Directorate of Receptions issued payments on occasions of family tragedies to amounts beyond those prescribed in the relevant regulations, which are the same for all citizens. Thus, instead of 500 leks, Foto Cami was granted 7,500 leks, Llambi Gegprifti 4,250 leks, and Besnik Bekteshi 900 leks. The three principal families were privately served lunch and dinner in their homes, and gave repeated receptions and parties for their friends, which cost the state 435,000 leks in the 1989-1990 period.

For instance, Nexhmije Hoxha spent 223,000 leks receiving 5,630 people, more than the number received by the president and prime minister.

Considerable amounts of hard currency were spent on sumptuous clothing and cosmetics.

Even though there was no special decision on supplying party and state leaders and their families with imported clothes and cosmetics, or special domestically produced tailor-made clothing, large amounts of foreign currency and leks were placed at their disposal every year.

Between 1988 and 1990, on the instruction of former officials in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Finance Ministry, and the General Directorate of the State Bank, and through the agency of Industrialimpeks, the sum of $457,000 was sent to the embassies in Rome, Vienna, Paris, etc., for private cash purchases of such items as clothes, cosmetics, hunting equipment, electrical appliances, and food, etc. in special shops.

We stress that the funds granted by the Directorate of Receptions and sent through Industrialimpeks and the embassies were not subject to control. In some cases, customers imported goods themselves and paid for them only after delays of between one and three years.

For instance, Nexhmije Hoxha's family received goods to the value of $3,300 in 1988 and paid for them only in June 1991. The Carcani family and Qirjako Mihali also behaved in the same way with goods to the value of $1,500 and $1,000 respectively.

In the embassies, $91,000 cannot be accounted for. It might be argued that this discrepancy and others like it are the result of embezzlement, abuses, or undocumented expenditure.

Clothing and cosmetics were bought for high prices in hard currency, while estimates for payments in leks were made with very low prices.

The following families profited from the difference between the amount of foreign currency spent and the price actually paid: Ramiz Alia, 174,000 leks; Nexhmije Hoxha, 84,000 leks; Pirro Kondi, 13,700 leks; Adil Carcani 25,200 leks; Qirjako Mihali, 5,500 leks; Llambi Gegprifti, 3,300 leks, etc.

The Directorate of Receptions presented gifts of considerable value, not only to different government and party delegations, but to personal friends and other guests. High-level party and state officials also gave gifts to their personal friends abroad. The value of the gifts presented between 1987 and June 1991 amounts to 301,000 leks, of which gifts given to state delegations account for 301,000 leks and personal gifts 141,000 leks.

Personal gifts were given to doctors for treatment in France. Nexhmije Hoxha's family gave 26,000 leks; Ramiz Alia 24,000 leks; Adil Carcani 52,000 leks; Manush Myftiu, 15,000 leks; Vangjel Cerrava, 2,600 leks; Rita Marko, 4,400 leks; Qirjako Mihali, 2,400 leks; Foto Cami, 2,600 leks, etc. The above sums constitute abuses for which the culprits are responsible.

In conclusion, the People's Assembly considers the privileges and acquisitions of state and party officials to have been illegal abuses at the expense of the sweat and property of the people. The respective decisions of the PPSh Central Committee Politburo and the letters, instructions, and decisions of the Council of Ministers, on the basis of which these privileges were acquired, were totally illegal and antipopular.

Honored deputies, these are in general the data from the investigations conducted so far. Material with fuller data was submitted to the investigator when the Finance Ministry and the State Control Commission initiated legal proceedings against the persons concerned.

The government remains confident the Investigator's Office and the courts will thoroughly and unhesitatingly investigate this matter, and will judge fairly and decisively in defining the legal accountability of the persons concerned, the level of the abuses, and the amounts improperly acquired, also deciding the level of compensation these persons will have to pay.

The disgraceful decades-old practice of undeserved privileges and abuses must also be subjected to a political and moral verdict. From this point of view such practices are to be condemned for the following main reasons:

1. First, because of the political deception that the caste of high-level communist leaders perpetrated against the Albanian nation for years on end. Cynically and unscrupulously preaching equality and modesty for years on end, they compelled an entire people to live in shameful poverty because of their own incompetence and antinational ambitions. Moreover, this caste allowed itself excessive privileges and gains, in marked contrast to the low living standards of the people.

2. Second, because of the absence of any legal basis for their preferential treatment by the state. High-level state leaders in every democratic and emancipated country of the world receive consideration and favor for the posts they hold, for the sake of the dignity of the state and because of the weighty and responsible duties they perform. However, this treatment is given on the basis of the law, with parliamentary approval, and is recognized and evident to everybody. In contrast, the privileges of the top party leaders of the former Albanian socialist state were granted by furtive and illegal decisions made by the leaders themselves, thus showing these "first-class citizens'" total indifference to and lack of respect for the law and the will of the nation and also their intention to hide as far as possible the real extent of the privileges and gains they permitted themselves. They publicly admitted only to their modest salaries (16,000 leks) at a time when their real incomes were multiplied dozens of times by their profits and malpractices or their misuse of state property.

One thing must be borne in mind. The economic damage this caste caused with their privileged life-style and their organized malpractices is large enough to condemn them both legally and morally, like all other violators of the law and of social justice. However, the damage they caused by their incompetence and their irrational and unscientific management of the state economy, thus bringing the country to its present crisis of deep poverty, is incalculable.

By sternly denouncing and condemning these painful phenomena from the past, the Albanian people and their now-democratic state are demonstrating again that this past has come to an end once and for all and that such things will never be allowed to occur again in the future.

Podkrepa Miners Strike; Economic Demands Listed

AU1408140491 Sofia BTA in English 1339 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 14 (BTA)—About seven thousand miners of the first shift in all mines throughout the country are already on strike, Mr. Zhelyazko Atanasov, leader of the Central Strike Committee with the Podkrepa Miners' Trade Union Federation, told the BTA. The miners on strike are members of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, some of the members of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, the other major trade union organization, have joined them as well, said Mr. Atanasov. He pointed out that the strike is not political in character, the demands are economic and trade union and the strike will continue until their fulfillment by the government.

The Central Strike Committee insists that the government appoint expert commissions including representatives of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation to study the reasons for the crisis in the mining industry, power engineering and all parallel branches and industries. According to them, the government should work out a clear concept for the further development of ore extraction, uranium extraction and metallurgy.

One of the major demands is that the minimum wages of the miners be three times higher than the general minimum, without lay-offs. The miners on strike also demand that business executives with proved legitimacy take part in the negotiations on the wages.

The miners believe that the production of lead and zinc should be preserved in Bulgaria and all ecological problems should be solved. For this purpose the government should immediately start negotiations with the companies presenting offers for a way out of the crisis. Podkrepa appeals to the government for a clear response on the future of the subway in Sofia.

Mr. Atanasov expects that the miners of the second shift will join their colleagues on strike.

Union, Government To Hold Talks

AU1408203091 Sofia BTA in English 1956 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 14 (BTA)—Today Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov offered the Central Strike Committee of the Miners' Federation with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation to start negotiations tomorrow. He finds most of the demands justified.

Worse is the situation in the Maritsa-Iztok mines. The transport there was blocked. If it does not resume operation, tomorrow morning a special power supply regime will have to be introduced in the country, says Mr. Tomov.

According to the Central Strike Committee, over 11 thousands of miners are on strike.

The other trade union organization, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, has not yet declared a strike, said the confederation's spokesman. They believe it is still possible to solve the problems through negotiations. Some of their members, however, are joining the strike.

At a meeting the Podkrepa Miners' Federation decided to start negotiations tomorrow but rejected the deputy prime minister's suggestion to shift to a token strike during the negotiations.

Zhelev on SDS Unity, Elections, Civil Peace

AU1408173591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Boyka Bashlieva report]

[Text] If I am not reelected as president, I do not know whether I will lead the opposition. This will depend not only on my own view, but also on that of the opposition, said Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev at the news conference he gave on 9 August at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia.

The presidential post had to belong to the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], because otherwise the opposition would have walked out of the legislature, Zhelev said, while recalling the situation surrounding his election as head of state. He described the speculations concerning the so-called "phantom" voters as ridiculous, and pointed out that all the SDS parties accepted the results of last year's elections.

In Zhelev's view, the unity of the SDS was the most important thing. He said that the opposition can run in the elections with several blue ballot papers, but a united opposition should stand behind these ballot papers, otherwise many developments might occur which would be unpleasant for the SDS opposition and the entire country.

The president announced that elections will take place, and will be held no later than 12 October if the National Assembly fails today to complete the second reading of the electoral bill. He also announced his decision to veto the law unless the legislature permits Bulgarians living abroad to cast their votes in their countries of residence.

He called the preservation of the peaceful transition one of the achievements of the last year. There were also occasions, the president said, when the peaceful transition was threatened. The president described the last rally held by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], which was accompanied by an SDS counterrally, as one of the incidents which endangered the civil peace. He said that the police acted correctly in a strained atmosphere, and characterized the acts of certain striking members of the legislature as provocative.

I flatter myself in believing that we have not committed any gross political errors, Zhelev said. The road is clear to a state based on the rule of law, where political

privileges have been abolished, provisional local administrations created, and the most important government departments depoliticized.

A look abroad reveals several things, he said. In Zhelev's view, the priorities have changed, with NATO taking an interest in our national security, our relations with the United States at their best, and our diplomatic corps has a new image.

A bilateral treaty on the basis of equal rights will be signed with the Soviet Union, as well as with certain Soviet republics. All sober-thinking people regard the USSR as a developing country, Zhelev said, while reviewing the contacts established between the two countries' representatives.

Assembly Completes Debate on Election Bill

AU1408163391 Sofia BTA in English 1535 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 14 (BTA)—This afternoon parliament debated the last chapter of the act on the forthcoming parliamentary and local elections which were scheduled for September 29 by a presidential decree.

The elections will be held after the proportional representation system, with tickets of parties, independent nominees, coalitions of parties and coalitions of parties with independent nominees. The proportional representation system was specified in advance in consultations between the political forces. The tickets will be worked in accordance with the constituencies and the seats to remain unoccupied will be centrally distributed. The independent nominees cannot have a separate central list.

The contestants for seats in the new Bulgarian Parliament should have completed 21 years of age, while those running for mayors and municipal councillors should have completed 18.

The reenlisted military will ballot at their place of residence. Servicemen will only cast votes for the new parliament. Balloting will be arranged outside the barracks. In last year's elections the soldiers cast their votes in the barracks.

The country will be divided into 31 constituencies by a presidential decree. In Sofia there will be three constituencies.

Although the day of the elections is drawing nearer neither the members nor even the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) have been appointed. Under the Bulgarian law the members of the CEC should be appointed by the president after consultations with the political forces at least 50 days before the elections. The CEC will consist of 25 members, most of them jurists by profession. The CEC will appoint the members of the commissions in all constituencies and polling stations at the suggestion of the temporary local authorities after consultations with the political forces. The CEC is authorized to establish the procedure and terms under which Bulgarian and foreign observers can take part in the elections.

According to certain clauses of the Elections Bill which have already been passed on second reading, organizations and movements which are not registered as parties may not form coalitions or nominate candidates. This concerns the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria) in its present form.

Independent candidates will be registered on independent lists provided they collect at least 2,000 signatures of electors in their constituency.

The Election Bill contains a clause (much disputed by the Movement for Rights and Freedoms) according to which the election campaign should be conducted in the official Bulgarian language.

All candidates will have equal access to the national mass media. However, the rules regulating party political broadcasts will be set by a parliamentary decision later on.

The parties which won over 50,000 votes in last year's elections will have certain advantages because, according to the elections bill, they will receive 50 percent of the funds allocated from the budget in advance.

The dates fixed in the Elections Bill make impossible the holding of the elections on September 29, as ordered in the presidential decree. However, October 13, the deadline set by the Constitution, will probably be met.

Parties Comment

AU1408203691 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 12 (BTA)—The Elections Bill was finally voted this evening, there are just some more temporary and final clauses to be specified. The final passage of the bill and its coming into force is of extreme importance for the scheduling of the elections. September 29 is already considered to be non-realistic by the politicians. The deadline under the Constitution, three months after the dissolution of the Grand National Assembly at the latest, is October 12.

Although the principal clauses of the act have already been passed, the parliamentary political forces are still arguing upon some of the texts.

The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is the only party which firmly insists on the clause practically depriving Bulgarians abroad from the right to vote in the countries where they live. The president stated officially that he will return the bill for the reconsideration of this clause. Today representatives of the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union], the parliamentary SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the parliamentary group of the

Movement for Rights and Freedoms told the BTA that in case of new debates they will insist that Bulgarians abroad be allowed to vote.

Mr. Ibrakhim Tatarlu from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) said that the DPS objects the clause under which the election campaign may only be conducted in the official Bulgarian language. One of the clauses of the Elections Bill says that movements and organizations that have not been registered as parties may not take part in the coming elections. Mr. Tatarlu explained that the DPS has been registered in accordance with the Political Parties Act and according to him there are no legal grounds to ban it from participation in the elections with a list of its own. "If we are banned from participation, we'll find other ways to nominate our candidates," he said.

Today Mr. Velko Vulkanov, jurist and MP for the BSP, proposed a clause under which the independent candidates may cede the votes they have received to a political party or a coalition. The parliamentary opposition protested and offered the majority to reconsider this text. This perverts the voter's choice to cast his vote for an independent candidate, claimed the opposition.

Although both major political forces, the BSP and the SDS, declared their will for early elections and readiness for elections on September 29, according to a representative of the BZNS, the political forces, the BZNS included, are interested in the delay of the elections. The BSP holds the majority in parliament, the SDS is in crisis, why should they hasten the elections then, he told the BTA. And yet, MP's for different political forces said today that the constitutional deadline, elections on October 13 at the latest, will be met.

BSDP Leaders Denounce Extraordinary Congress

AU1408143991 Sofia BTA in English 1331 GMT 14 Aug 91

["Another Social Democratic Party?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 14 (BTA)—The national leadership of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) does not recognize the extraordinary congress of the party due to be held from August 17 to 18, it was said at a press conference today. "A new social democratic party may be founded at the congress but this does not concern the BSDP in any way," Mr. Angel Akhryanov, BSDP spokesman, said.

According to the BSDP Statute, only the party's national committee may convene a congress. "Those who disagree with the statute and programme of the party and with the decisions adopted by its national leadership do not belong to its ranks," the chairman of the BSDP parliamentary faction said.

The representatives of the national leadership who were present at the press conference believe that the purpose of the future congress is to remove Dr. Petur Dertliev, BSDP chairman, from his position.

Similar processes unfold in other opposition organizations as well.

Finance Minister To Review BSP-Owned Companies

AU1408175291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Aug 91 p 1

[Katya Karagyaurova report]

[Text] I have been instructed by the Council of Ministers to review the party enterprises, announced Finance Minister Ivan Kostov. He stressed that he cannot take sides, nor would it be proper for him to do so, until the financial inspection has been completed.

According to the latest information that the minister has received, the legal claim against the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has increased to 1.855 billion leva or $700,000. Kostov said that the entire claim would be submitted to the court. It is very likely that action will be taken in connection with certain items of BSP property—I am thinking of the party headquarters, he explained. Kostov pointed out that considerable evidence indicates that the government financed the construction, but the land belongs to someone else.

As is well known, we strongly reject the legal claim relating to the BSP property, stated Nikolay Georgiev, deputy head of the Finance and Economic Section of the BSP Supreme Council. He explained that according to archives available to the party that go back 21 years, the party received legal subsidies from the state of about 1.4 billion leva. The party companies are completely open; there is nothing in them that cannot be checked. They are subject to legal control, and everything that the law provides can be applied to them, Georgiev added.

Popov Promises To Contain 'Price Shock'

AU1408181391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Aug 91 p 2

[DUMA report]

[Text] In the time available to us, we will try to create conditions under which competition will exert a positive effect on prices, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov told listeners of the Khorizont Radio Network's "Sunday 150" program on 11 August.

Popov said that certain people wanted to gain high profits in a short time, by approaching the upper limits of the permissible profit percentages and even exceeding them. He quoted as an example the predicted purchase price for grain of 1,100 leva per tonne, which, however, then leapt to 1,500, 1,600, 1,800, and 2,000 leva per tonne, and attributed this to expectations of inflation or

intentions to export grain. It has also been established that the prices of goods on offer include allowances for a very high trade discount.

We have taken enough effective measures in response to the price shock, Dimitur Popov assured his audience. The government has released grain from the state reserve, making available 80,000 tonnes at a price not higher than 1,100 leva per tonne, which will be used for bread production. We will import grain, we are ready now to buy it at a price up to 1,100 leva per tonne, and will ask those who have bought grain for 1,500-2,000 leva per tonne what they will do with it. They will be forced to offer their grain at the lower market value, Popov said.

Radio Says State Companies Deeply in Debt

AU1408162391 Sofia BTA in English 1559 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 14 (BTA)—By December 31, 1990 the companies from the system of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Services owed some 7,700 million leva, of which 3,000 million in payments rescheduled from 1986 to the end of 1990, Mr. Zlati Kolev, deputy minister of industry, trade and services, said on the national radio today.

No new debts have been incurred. At the present moment companies are getting small credits either to complete or to freeze their projects. Metallurgy and mining companies are most heavily indebted, owing over 2,500 million leva to the banks.

Investment credits and interests on them aggravate even further the plight of the enterprises. A special government decree of July 1991 sets forth ways for solving the problem of companies' indebtedness. The enterprises which are not fully responsible for the debts incurred will be granted concessions. The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Services has already completed its analysis and submitted it to a special commission with the Council of Ministers responsible for providing solutions to these problems, Mr. Kolev said. A portion of the debts of some companies will be either canceled or covered by the budget. Once the situation has eased we will see which companies should liquidate. Mr. Kolev said that this would happen as early as October.

New Clearing Dollar Rate Set for USSR Trade

AU1408173291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Aug 91 p 2

[Yasen Borislavov report]

[Text] Ministers Kostov and Paparizov and National Bank Chairman Todor Vulchev have worked out a mechanism for regulating trade relations with the Soviet Union, fulfilling the Council of Ministers' decision of 2 August. The mechanism provides for a 45-percent discount (a deduction from the nominal value) for the clearing dollar, based on the market exchange rate of the dollar. Accordingly, one dollar will be exchanged for about 11 leva. From now on, the Bulgarian National Bank will issue daily quotations of the clearing dollar rate, and in the period until 1 October the exchange rate will be altered gradually.

According to Kostov, the previous automatic application of the market dollar exchange rate to clearing deals made the Soviet Union a preferred partner for Bulgarian exporters. At present they have a positive balance of trade with the USSR valued at about 140 million clearing dollars, plus a further $66 million that have yet to be paid. At the current market exchange rate for the dollar, this means that the National Bank or the budget will have to provide about 4 billion leva for the exporters, and this money is simply not available.

Kostov told a DUMA reporter that this measure will affect Bulgarian companies exporting to the USSR, which will receive $1.5 billion in credits from the National Bank, but at the same time it will provide an incentive for importers from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria.

Minister Announces Rise in Barracks Arms Thefts

AU1408161691 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Aug 91 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov report]

[Text] In the National Assembly on 9 August, Interior Minister Khristo Danov announced that unfortunately the number of automatic weapons stolen from barracks had increased recently. The minister was answering a question from People's Deputy Vrubka Orbetsova about whether there was any truth in the rumors concerning the sale, purchase, and possession of firearms.

Minister Danov said that the number of such automatic weapons was disturbing. Their numbers are increasing in two ways: through theft from barracks and by smuggling, mainly across our northern border.

We must admit that there is a strong pinch of truth in the rumors concerning illegal possession of firearms, Mr. Danov said. He added that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is not uninterested in checking into the grounds on which people possess, carry, and use firearms. The minister stated that if the Council of Ministers agrees, in the near future we may collect all firearms, both hunting guns and ordinary ones, returning them only to persons who have legal reasons to possess them.

He pointed out that in the first six months of this year the agent network of the Ministry of Internal Affairs received 166 tipoffs, of which 155 concerned possession of firearms. Of these 61 tips were confirmed, but only seven of these concerned firearms. At the same time, Mr. Danov said that it must be noted that gas pistols are not

banned, at least at the moment, and they are not included in the list restricting the possession of firearms.

The largest number of tipoffs concerning illegal firearms possession—22 out of a total of 27 tipoffs—were received in Plovdiv. In Sofia, only 10 of the 31 tips proved to be correct, in Veliko Turnovo—only two of 21, while in Vidin all seven tipoffs proved to be false.

State Security Involvement in Drug Traffic Denied

AU1408115291 Sofia BTA in English 1026 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 14 (BTA)—The former State Security of this country was not involved in the international drugs traffic, a general of the reserve of the special services stated. In an interview published in "DUMA" today, General Ivan Ivanov, former deputy chief of the counterintelligence, asserts that such accusations against the Bulgarian special services pursue political goals. According to him their aim is to suggest the idea that the former State Security employed "mafiosos."

The general expresses readiness to take part in a press conference together with his colleagues on these issues, if necessary.

General Ivan Ivanov served in the security bodies for 39 years and in the 1985-1990 period he was in charge of combatting drugs trafficking and organized crime. The general supports his stand with statements made by the ministers of the interior of Austria and Italy, Mr. Karl Blecha and Mr. Antonio Gava, during meetings in 1986 and 1989. Both of them were categorical that their services do not possess evidence pointing to an involvement of Bulgarian transport vehicles or Bulgarian citizens in the drugs traffic both on the territory of this country and abroad.

The interview points out that despite the absence of legal assistance agreements, officers of the secret services of former West Germany used to come to Bulgaria to interrogate drug traffickers. A commission was also set up in Bulgaria for joint work with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), General Ivan Ivanov stresses.

The interview makes it clear that the Bulgarian side has undertaken to provide the DEA with information on every detained drugs trafficker. On the second day of the arrest of the trafficker the U.S. Embassy was sent samples for analysis. According to the general, analysing these samples, the Americans drew conclusions about the origin of the drugs and their route. The Bulgarian side was informed in most of the cases of the results of these analyses.

We have not denied assistance to any Western secret services working in the field of combatting drugs trafficking, General Ivan Ivanov points out.

The general answers in the negative the question about the possibility of misrepresenting information on arrested drug traffickers and the quantities of drugs smuggled by them. He is not aware of any warnings of cases of malpractice on the part of employees of the security services who enjoyed unrestricted rights in totalitarian times.

And yet, why is Bulgaria being accused? General Ivan Ivanov is of the opinion that such allegations are aimed at achieving different goals. He points out that the drugs traffic routes and international terrorism passed via Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Austria as well. But no one accused these countries, the general added.

Moreover Bulgaria had the most liberal passport and visa regulations, and there were times when more than 126 thousand persons passed through a border checkpoint in 24 hours, General Ivan Ivanov reminds.

Paper Surveys Political Parties on Referendum

AU1408153591 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Aug 91 pp 1, 12

["(vil,mm)"-signed report: "Both Yes and No to the Referendum"]

[Text] Prague—When asked by LIDOVE NOVINY for their opinions about the CTK interview with Alexander Dubcek on the referendum issue, some political parties replied.

The Civic Democratic Party: A nationwide referendum on whether to live or not to live in a common state will solve nothing. A referendum would make sense if one of the parties would say "no". In case the result is positive—this is what would probably happen—we would be, having held an extremely expensive referendum, in the same situation we are in today. We would be unable to agree on what kind of a state we would like to live in. No referendum will solve this question.

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party: Our party does not believe that a referendum could solve all the problems of our constitutional setup. The referendum is likely to stir emotions even more. Besides this, the organization of such a referendum is quite expensive.

The Czechoslovak People's Party: Incidentally, our opinion on this specific matter is quite close to what Mr. Dubcek said. In legislative bodies, there is actually only a minimal number of those who, before the elections, pushed for the division of the CSFR. We may say that today's legislatures do not have such a mandate. Nevertheless, the referendum is an extreme, provisional, and risky way of solving problems.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party: The objective of our party is a common federal state. In no case do we want to deny the necessity of introducing direct democracy (referendum), yet we still believe that the decision on whether or not to live in a common state should be made in the Federal Assembly. We consider the referendum to be an extreme solution.

The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia: There are three types of referenda: The first broadens the scope of democracy and politics; the second is a safety measure against a no-win political situation; and the third is a mere smokescreen. The referendum on the CSFR would fit between the last two cases. Since the very beginning, the government coalition has been playing an unfair game with the federation's breakup—why should the citizens be forced to repair what the politicians have botched?

VPN Briefing on Coalition, Referendum Issues

AU1408175691 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Bratislava Aug 12 (CTK)— "(Slovak Ex-premier) Vladimir Meciar and his supporters got scared of economic reform, which is probably why he left the government intentionally, expecting the reforms to finish in economic and social catastrophe."

Speaking at a VPN press conference today, Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, said Meciar and his followers "could not fulfill their ambitions within several months. Now we are witness to their feverish attempts to break up the governing coalition and get into the cabinet, or perhaps ally with some deputies from the government coalition."

The current Slovak Government consists of members of the VPN, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the Democratic Party (DS), and the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI).

Meciar served as Slovak premier from the parliamentary elections in June 1990 to April of this year when he was removed from his position by the Presidium (steering committee) of the Slovak parliament for unsatisfactory performance.

Soon after, he formed a breakaway faction from the VPN, the VPN-For a Democratic Slovakia, which became the independent Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). Meciar was elected HZDS chairman at its first congress in late June. Public opinion polls consistently show him to be the most popular politician in the Slovak Republic.

The number of people in Slovakia who reject economic reform as a whole is going down, Kucerak said. On the other hand, the number of people who accept reform but with serious reservations is increasing. This opinion he blamed on a lack of knowledge regarding basic economic principles, caused by the government's failure to adequately explain its policy.

There are no differences between the VPN and Alexander Dubcek on the future of the Czechoslovak Federation, Kucerak said. Dubcek dropped out of the VPN on June 22 and was immediately called on by right-wing Czech parties to resign from his post as chairman of the Federal Assembly (parliament).

The VPN assumes that as chairman of parliament, Dubcek would support the right of the Czechoslovak people to express their views in a referendum on the federation, Kucerak said.

Yesterday Dubcek told CTK that now is not the time to hold a referendum, noting that the Slovak National Party (SNS) is the only party or movement that actually calls for an independent Slovakia in its program.

[Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 13 August on pages 1 and 2 carries a 650-word "dag"-signed report on

the 12 August VPN briefing. The report includes the following passage: "Vladimir Ondrus, member of the Slovak National Council Presidium, provided information on the latest coalition talks, which dealt with the wave of tension over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project. The coalition talks on this topic were motivated by the endeavor to find a common course of action in seeking further contacts with the Hungarian side at all levels and [by the endeavor] to make use of the possibility to bring about a positive change in the Hungarian Republic's approach to interstate talks on this hydroelectric power project. Success in negotiations can, however, be accomplished only by a united and coordinated course of action by the CSFR and Slovak Republic Governments. At the same time the coalition parties welcome the readiness of the Slovak Republic Government and of the Slovak National Council to hold discussions with opponents of the project and are of the opinion that this dialogue must continue. Journalists, too, should help alleviate tension, mainly by means of objective information and assessment of the situation at Gabcikovo and by backing the endeavor at a common course of action and mutual consultations."

Addressing the same briefing, Ernest Valko, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the VPN, explained the VPN's proposal for a "bicameral arrangement of the Federal Assembly." According to the VEREJNOST report, "the first chamber should have about 200 members and the second, smaller one, would be based on the Senate principle. In Valko's opinion, the seat of the Senate could be in Bratislava because the two chambers need not hold joint meetings. This is documented by experience from other countries where the two chambers meet only when dealing with substantial issues, such as the election of the president."]

VPN Leadership Rejects Restructure of Presidium

AU1408175991

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 13 August on page 13 carries a 650-word statement made by Professor Miroslav Kusy, member of the Slovak National Council (SNR) Presidium for the Public Against Violence movement (VPN) and director of the Bratislava branch of the Office of the CSFR President, on Radio Czechoslovakia (date not given). In the statement, which is published under the headline "Eliminating Destructive Opposition," Kusy called for changes in the composition of the SNR Presidium. On the same day, on page 2, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 400-word B. Olach report on a VPN briefing held in Bratislava on 12 August. The report includes a passage on the VPN leadership's response to Kusy's proposal.

In his statement on Radio Czechoslovakia, Miroslav Kusy rejects as "absurd" the Slovak opposition parties' argument that the composition of the SNR Presidium should be changed because it does not correspond to the composition of the SNR plenum. He points out that, besides being the steering body of the Slovak Council, the SNR Presidium is also the "collective head of state, the collective president" of Slovakia. Kusy continues: "The legislative opposition stands in opposition to the Slovak Government and, by the same token, to the government program. The representation of the opposition in the legislative presidium is, from this viewpoint, actually an expression of the ruling coalition's goodwill, a luxury the ruling coalition can afford under certain circumstances. There would be nothing undemocratic about it if it did not allow the opposition's representation in the legislative presidium. It has every right not to allow it, stemming from the correlation of forces in the legislature. If it does allow it, it weakens its own positions in the Presidium because, in this way, antigovernment forces become part of the collective head of state. The ruling coalition can afford this luxury, it can afford such an expression of its goodwill, only if it has to do with a so-called constructive opposition. Following all experience with the legislative opposition, the question of the participation of the constituent parts of the Slovak legislative opposition in the structure of the SNR Presidium becomes extremely problematic. Because of this participation, the Presidium is becoming a schizophrenic and paralyzed body in discharging the function of the collective head of state. While one part of the Presidium upholds the political concept of the government coalition, the other part constantly undermines this concept, contests it, and paralyzes its assertion and implementation. A clear example of this is the current work on the constitutions, for instance. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to restructure the SNR Presidium, but definitely not in the direction of its proportional composition according to the structure of the legislature itself—because such a restructuring would only enhance the schizophrenia and paranoia in the Presidium's activity—but in the opposite direction. That is, in the direction of the elimination of the destructive part of the opposition from the Presidium."

The NARODNA OBRODA report on the 12 August VPN briefing includes the following passage: "The VPN does not share the view of its SNR Deputy M. Kusy, who proposed that the SNR Presidium be restructured in such a way, in the interest of more efficient decisionmaking, that only deputies for the coalition would be represented in it. The VPN does not share this view because such a restructuring would destabilize the present political scene even more."

Weiss Rejects OH Statement on Federation

AU1408190691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Aug 91 p 2

["Excerpt" from statement issued by Peter Weiss, Party of the Democratic Left chairman, in Bratislava; date not given: "Logical Juggling and Unnecessary Martyrdom"]

[Text] Extremely poignant is the kind of logical juggling that politicians can sometimes become proficient in as a

result of their persistent endeavor to extricate themselves from the consequences of their movements' disintegration—which, unlike the parties, were established "for everyone"—to camouflage their unfulfilled preelection promises and to renew their lost prestige among citizens. Peter Weiss, Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] chairman, made this comment in connection with the Civic Movement [OH] press briefing reported in 10 August newspapers. We have selected the following excerpt from his statement:

I cannot understand how the issue of reducing the Slovak Republic's energy dependence on Czech energy sources by producing clean energy—following the economically and ecologically most acceptable completion of the Gabcikovo water project—is connected with "calling for the division of our state." It seems that our further coexistence only has a chance if it is based on continuing unilateral dependencies. I understand even less what "the idea of more substantial USSR influence and interest on the part of some Slovak representatives" has in common with all of this.

I can only recommend one thing to Mr. Kinst—that he should more effectively resist various notions and pay more attention to the facts and the chronology. Neither the SDL nor I have ever expressed ourselves in favor of breaking up our joint state. Not the SDL, but someone else, inspired the "What If" program, in which the impact of unilateral dependencies was "discussed." I did not exclaim in bitter indignation that both Czechs and Slovaks would pay for separation, but that Slovaks would pay for it more. I did not sit on "M-Session" [a television program for young people] and say that if we are to go our separate ways, we should do so in a cultured manner. Finally, I did not try to convince viewers of the "Events and Commentaries" program that the combination of a national and civic principle in renewing Czechoslovak statehood is against the trend of European integration.

Mr. Dienstbier said at the briefing that "the issue of the federation is absolutely fundamental to the Civic Movement—at the cost of losing by holding this point of view, and even at the cost of suffering an honorable defeat." This is an almost martyr-like declaration. However, I have to ask: Whom will the Civic Movement lose politically—or even suffer a defeat at the hands of—on account of the federation: citizens in Slovakia, where the movement is not registered? It is more likely it will lose the 47 percent of Czech Republic citizens who, according to public opinion polls, are in favor of a unitarian state, or the others who prefer the idea of a union arrangement and, thus, the actual breakup of the national republics. Who, then, is actually endangering the federation?

From whom is a referendum supposed to protect the federation—in particular, what kind of federation—the one the Civic Movement's most well-known leaders criticized before the elections for being the centralistic and bureaucratic product of the former regime?

In its program, the SDL acknowledges a national-democratic and general-democratic principle for constructing Czechoslovak statehood from below on the basis of contractual relations that proceed from an agreement between the federation's entities. Mr. Kinst's tone and reasoning would certainly not contribute toward forming a bloc of Czech and Slovak political forces capable of pressing for such an agreement. It would be appropriate to come together and explain, without prejudice, our mutual points of view.

Meciar Advocates Slovak Grand Coalition

LD1408164891 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, by Bohus Geci, following a meeting of the Movement; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Geci] Mr. Meciar, at your press briefing, you spoke about your talks with individual political parties in Slovakia. You ruled out, or to be more specific, you said that, apart from the Public Against Violence [VPN] and the Magyar parties, you held talks with practically every party of some importance on the Slovak political scene. You even said that you are willing to make concessions with regard to the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. Could you clarify this for the Radiojournal listeners?

[Meciar] What are Slovakia's current needs? What we need is to unify all forces to solve two fundamental problems. The first one is the constitutional setup and (?relations). We are exposed to great pressure from the Czech side, pressure that in effect means suppression of the Slovaks as a state-forming nation in a joint state. We must face this pressure jointly, for each of us cannot face it alone. The second problem is to bring to a halt the negative economic development, that can be slowed down and curbed through joining our forces, and after a certain period of stagnation, it will be possible to revive the economic life. This, too, is realistic and cannot be done single-handedly by any party or movement. We propose to form a grand coalition of Slovak political parties and movements. There was a positive response among those with whom we had talks. Their response was positive because such a grand coalition could become a reality. Whether it is formed depends on the stance of the KDH leadership. We shall have talks with other representatives of this movement, too. This will result in attaining a majority in the Slovak National Council and in a coordinated policy in the Federal Assembly aimed precisely against the existing pressure. It would also be possible to form a government based on principles other than the present government. We do not even rule out the variation that if the Christian Democrats want to form a government—a minority government—on their own and exclusively, so long as it respects the agreed rules both in the legislature and in their policy, this government could exist and function in Slovakia.

[Geci] Would you back this government?

[Meciar] Yes, we would back this kind of government, to the extent to which it would be able to meet the interests of Slovakia, because as the situation stands today, the majority of voices in the government belong to the VPN, and although the prime minister is a Christian Democrat, he is able to do in the socio-economic sphere only what the 12 VPN votes permit. And this discrepancy has encountered a lack of understanding. After all, the first deputy prime minister himself stated that the government has lost its ability to function. Mr. Kucerak himself said that no coalition lasts forever, and he is establishing an ultimatum beyond the framework of which the Christian Democrats cannot go. If the Christian Democrats accept this ultimatum, then they will contradict their own policy. That is why we think that the VPN has no right to ruin yet another social organization and that it has no right to break up the unity of Slovakia in the aspects where political concords are possible, even though (?the VPN offensive has been very aggressive) since the return of a certain politician from England.

[Geci] In this connection, I should also like to ask about the international relations that the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has been slowly but surely establishing. You mentioned the International Christian Democratic Union. You have even spoken about the possibility of the HZDS joining this union.

[Meciar] Representatives of international political organizations and associations are coming to visit us; they are having talks with the HZDS about the possibilities of joining international organizations. They are being briefed about our policy, our personnel, and our political structures. Yes, the representatives of these circles also paid us a visit and said that they could see for themselves that of all Slovak political parties and movements, it is the HZDS that best meets the principles of Christian Democratic policies, both in terms of its policies and its organization. It has, therefore, been suggested to us that this is the direction we could take in international affairs. We considered it, as we did all other suggestions made to us, and we are pleased at the respect we enjoy abroad, but we are not claiming allegiance to any foreign policy grouping. We are and we remain a civil grouping. Precisely the fact that our movement inspires various political groups abroad to implement their plans and policies testifies to the fact (?that we taking the middle road) and that we are, indeed, aspiring to be a civic movement and express the interests of a citizen.

[Geci] Regarding the possibility of forming a government solely from the members of the KDH, does this mean that, in the interests of attaining political stability in Slovakia, you would be willing to withdraw from the political scene?

[Meciar] Two elements must be considered in this respect. One concerns the position of a person in public life, while the second constitutes the reaching of a consensus. Should this consensus be reached, and since many harbor personal fears of my person, I myself suggested to them that, in that event, I would remain a chairman of the movement and would continue to act and work as chairman of the movement. My immediate taking of a government post is not imperative. Let the elections and the voters make this decision, (?as long as) this broad political consensus is reached. This would, of course, be balanced by the stepping down of some officials from other parties.

[Geci] I should like to recall yet another point voiced at today's meeting. Mr. Filkus, chairman of the HZDS Council, read a statement calling for a discussion to create certain unity to resolve two basic key problems—the constitutional setup and the transformation of the economy to a market economy. Apart from this, there was also a statement of the movement's council saying that the movement and its representatives renounce any invectives and personal attacks against other politicians and political parties. In this connection, I cannot but recall your last meeting with journalists, from which many journalists made a lot of capital in this silly season, so to speak. They quoted you, in particular, including certain distinctive assessments of the parachuting achievements of Mr. Prime Minister, followed by Mr. Vavrousek's pronouncements about Gabcikovo. Should this statement be understood as a hand held out by yourself to other parties to calm this stormy political surface of personal invective?

[Meciar] You see, a series of mutual attacks has been going on for several months. Some needed to record by any available means the reasons for their recalling. Some are still shouting—just wait and see—we are yet to open our mouths and say what did really happen! They are simply trying to unravel some non-existent behind-the-scenes secrets and so on. So they are trying to justify the steps that were taken. Others merely (?exhibit) the feeling of their own personal vanity and their personal contribution by playing down the results of the work of other people, and so on. In many cases, this is bordering on human pettiness. After all, what is the meaning of the present time, compared with the future and with the Slovakia that will exist even after the year 2000, when we shall perhaps recall that at certain times we played a certain role? And yet, already today we must bear in mind that for us the matter of prime importance is Slovakia's well-being, and not matters beneficial to our movement. But in the interests of Slovakia, we are willing to reduce the importance of many elements, even those we used to defend ourselves—and although we used them firmly, we always waited to be attacked and then we responded—with the sole purpose of reaching this kind of consensus.

We are offering our hand. If it is rejected, we shall be left with one option only: to inform the citizens about the situation on the Slovak scene and to tell the citizens: Dear people, the Slovak political parties are incapable of reaching a consensus; this discord is a breach of your fundamental civic interest and places in jeopardy your economic existence and the state's political existence. Let's unite, and together we shall seek understanding, ways out, and solutions. And so, this is the last possible

consensus. If it is turned down, there is still an option of reaching a consensus with the citizens that could be a more complex matter.

Coupon Privatization Director Explains Program

LD1408225591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Dr. Jaroslav Liesner, director of the Coupon Privatization Center at the Federal Ministry of Finance, briefed journalists in Prague today about the organizational and technical implementation of the coupon privatization. Barbara Tacheci has more details:

[Tacheci] Dr. Liesner told the news conference that all the dates in the course of the coupon privatization approved last April will be observed. What dates are involved? The sale of the so-called coupon books will begin on 1 October this year; registration will begin on 1 November and the placing of orders themselves by individuals will commence from 1 January next year.

Specifically, what this means for the individual citizen who is interested in this method of privatization is that, in the course of the last three months of the current year, he will be able to purchase at one of roughly 5,000 post offices a coupon book for 35 korunas and a coupon stamp to the value of 1,000 points for 1,000 korunas. At roughly 850 registration offices, he will be able to register the coupon book using his identification number. This will then enable him to order company shares that will be included in the first privatization wave. Individuals who do not want or cannot decide for themselves will be able to entrust their coupons to one of the so-called investment funds.

It is not as yet clear how individuals will be able to deal with the share acquired. It is anticipated that, after a technical interval of between three and six months, shares will be able to be traded freely either on the stock exchange or outside it.

The organization of privatization will be ensured by three bodies: the Commission for Coupon Privatization, composed of deputies of legislative bodies who will act as the supreme supervisory body; a four-member control group headed by Dr. Dusan Triska; and a seven-member Coupon Privatization Center that will watch over the execution of the privatization itself. According to Dr. Liesner, the importation of computer technology for the whole action has, in essence, been assured. The specific government decree on the coupon privatization should be approved on 5 September, and we shall, of course, devote ourselves to the individual steps of the coupon privatization in a future broadcast.

Walesa Urged To Identify With Supporters

AU1408145891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by Slawomir Dabrowski, director of the National Citizens Committee Bureau and member of the Center Accord Supreme Political Council: "President of a Time of Great Change"]

[Excerpts] In less than three months time, parliamentary elections will determine the layout of political forces in Poland. They will define the place of every political party and their ability to exert influence. The elections will determine the path that Poland will follow, and whether we will manage to break with the totalitarian system or will remain in its shadow. The fall elections will also decide one another thing: Will Lech Walesa's presidency be of watershed significance or will it represent a personal defeat for him and the failure of the Polish reforms. [passage omitted]

The idea of being "the president of all Poles" is harmful for Walesa himself, but harmful for Poland above all. Walesa was elected head of state in direct elections and the electoral code thus defined his status as that of a president who is directly engaged in public affairs. Walesa did not receive the votes of all Poles, because his program and the camp that supported him did not appeal to all Poles. The program was a concrete one—a program for effecting a radical break with communism, leading Poland to democratic capitalism, settling accounts concerning the past, and rectifying the injustices that people suffered. It was a program that only some Poles supported. That is why Walesa is not the president of the communist and postcommunist arrangement and is not the president of those who voted for Tadeusz Mazowiecki or Stanislaw Tyminski. Walesa is the president at a time of great institutional change, a time when the old system is collapsing and the interests of various social groups are being encroached upon. A time when many social groups and many people are losing their positions and influence. These structures and these people are not interested in those changes and not interested in their success. It is not their program, and although it is the only program for Poland, it will not become a program for all Poles.

It is this very program of institutional change that is currently being threatened. The disastrous political timetable that has resulted from the October date for parliamentary elections has meant that the tenure of this incoherent political arrangement has been dangerously extended. Instead of improvement, there has been a definite decline in the economy. The state of national security and of the individual citizens is as bad as the economy, and foreign policy is not safeguarding all Polish interests. The people's patience has been strained to the limit, and all the serious problems that we will have to contend with remain ahead of us. We will have to choose a new parliament under these circumstances, and the parliament will adopt a new Constitution, which will define relations between individual components of the government of the state, including the position of the president. [passage omitted]

Walesa's attitude as president so far does not fill one with optimism. The fact that he has distanced himself from the forces that support him clearly weakens the presidential camp and strengthens his opponents. As a result, Walesa has been losing out for some time now, because the system that he is developing and maintaining in this way is ineffective in terms of potential for solving our problems.

President Walesa must abandon his current policy of "change and balance," which would be acceptable in a stable parliamentary democracy, but at the present time, when we are just at the stage of heading toward that democracy, it is evident that such a policy is ineffective and harmful. The president must clearly show himself to be on the side of the political forces that back him, must stand at the head of the Belweder camp, and clearly support it in the upcoming elections. This will undoubtedly be a difficult psychological decision for Walesa, but is essential for both the country and for Walesa himself. I am not saying this for the sake of the interests of the forces which I consider myself to belong to, and which supported and continue to support the president. He must do so, because only that camp has a positive, radical, and realistic program, which is clearly rooted in society, for breaking with the old order.

This will not ensure the president certain political success. The Belweder camp—the Center Accord, the Citizens Committees, Christian democrat circles, the genuine peasant movement, and many "Solidarity" activists—does not have to win the elections, because too much has happened for electoral success not to be a certainty. However, if the president is to have certain and lasting support from anyone, it will only be from that camp. Without significant political support in the new parliament, Walesa will fail, and instead of being the architect of the foundations of the Third Republic, he will become the greatest loser.

Skubiszewski Comments on Latin American Relations

LD1508021991 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 14 Aug 91

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Achmatowicz]

[Text] Santiago de Chile, Aug. 14—At the conclusion of his recent visit paid to several Latin American states, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski granted an interview to the Chilean PAP correspondent.

Minister Skubiszewski stated that talks he held were frank and friendly although not deprived of difficult issues, for example, Poland's debt owed to Latin American countries mainly to Brazil.

Mr. Skubiszewski commented with satisfaction on Brazil's positive stand on a 50 per cent reduction of the Polish debt despite this country's serious financial problems.

Asked about his personal impressions, Krzysztof Skubiszewski stressed the willingness expressed by presidents of Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay to meet Poland's President Lech Walesa, who is very well known in Latin America.

Referring to common trends in Poland and Latin American countries in the transition period from military, authoritarian regimes to democracy, Poland's foreign minister pointed to the case of Paraguay, where the change at the presidential post initiated the democratization process.

Asked about Poland's future relations with Cuba, Mr. Skubiszewski stated that the present Polish Government intended to establish close relations between both nations (Minister Skubiszewski stressed the word nations) although Cuba could no longer enjoy priority as it did under the communist regime in Poland. Moreover the Polish Government was deeply concerned over the human rights problem in that country.

Cardinal Glemp Discusses Church Opponents on TV

AU1408184991 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—In a statement on the Sunday "Wiadomosci" ["News"] program, Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, explained that nothing had come of Pope John Paul II's 10-13 August private visit to Poland because of the holy father's lack of free time and excessive commitments in the Vatican.

Asked to comment on the Center Accord statement about attacks on the church, the primate said: "I think the church is always a symbol of opposition. Not everyone is of the same opinion, and that is good."

Cardinal Glemp divided church opponents into three categories. Into the first category he placed Marxists, who "do not like the church for existential reasons." The second category consists of the liberals, who "dislike the church not in the sense that they reject it. On the contrary, they want to adapt the church to their vision of society and the state. Here we have lots of suggestions. Some of them are even valuable." The third category consists of "progressive Catholics who are a little embarrassed about the church because it is not so modern."

"We must understand all these people and love them with the love of our faith," said Primate Glemp.

Asked about the demonstration announced by Rabbi Weiss in New York in protest against the primate's September visit to the United States, Cardinal Glemp said: "We support the idea of honest, frank, and comprehensive dialogue with the Jewish world. We wish to pursue this dialogue with honest people on the other side consistently. Therefore we will remove to the best of our ability anything that interferes with this dialogue."

State Election Commission Head on Electoral Code

AU1408181991 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Aug 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Andrzej Zoll, chairman of the State Election Commission, by Eliza Olczyk; place and date not given: "I Guarantee Fair Elections"]

[Excerpts] [Olczyk] There have been stormy disputes in the Sejm and the Senate on the subject of the electoral code, and it is being charged that, among other things, the legal construction of the document is flawed. For its part, the State Electoral Commission has on several occasions stated that the law is imprecise and requires interpretation. So, are the charges concerning the law really groundless or not?

[Zoll] Every piece of legislation requires interpretation, because it is written in a style of language that is not 100 percent unambiguous. There are, of course, laws that are more and less precise, that is, their content allows for a greater or lesser degree of interpretation.

We have reservations concerning the text of the electoral code, because it provides for many possible interpretations, including mutually exclusive ones. For example, at one meeting of the State Electoral Commission we discussed Article 70, which talks about the possibility of releasing an electoral committee from the need to gather signatures for electoral lists if the total number of voters backing such a committee exceeds 50,000 persons. This gives rise to a basic problem: If a committee gathers 2,000 signatures for each of 30 districts (figures that do not permit the registration of a list) that is, a total of 60,000 signatures, can it be released from the obligation? The provision talks about registration in remaining districts, which led the commission to conclude that the committee must obtain registration somewhere.

In addition, the electoral code accords certain privileges to the electoral committees of ethnic minorities, so a situation cannot arise in which the list produced by another group could receive even more privileges. We think that that was not the intention of the authors of the document. So, we decided that the provision could be interpreted in a narrower way, so that the 50,000 signatures could be interpreted as expressions of support for the lists registered in individual districts. This kind of explanation finds support in the law and does not conflict with its other provisions. [passage omitted]

[Olczyk] Knowing the electoral code very well, would you agree with the charge that the document is constructed in such a way that it will lead to the fragmentation of the future parliament?

[Zoll] It is hard for me to answer that question, precisely because of the weakness of political parties, which are often created by elites and lack a social base. In light of this, it is difficult to make predictions. However, I believe that the code will not have a great influence on the composition of the future parliament. It will not be the law, but the political situation that will be the decisive element, that will determine the outcome and the direction the voter will go.

[Olczyk] One controversial provision allows trade unions (including "Solidarity") that receive financial support from abroad to run candidates. The law does not allow election campaigns to be funded with foreign funds. Is there a possibility of holding such groups to account?

[Zoll] Election campaigns are financed by committees and they, not parties and trade unions, will be made to account for them. Election committees must show that the funds that they have at their disposal do not come from abroad. Once that is done there is no problem.

The election commission has many ways of overseeing the funding of election campaigns (in contrast to the presidential elections where that was not possible). The provisions of the electoral code include state fiscal authorities in the overseeing of funding. It is possible to institute fiscal proceedings or even criminal proceedings for violations of the provisions of the law.

[Olczyk] In your opinion, what kind of political atmosphere will surround the election campaign? Are there signs that it will be similar to the atmosphere surrounding the presidential elections?

[Zoll] I fear that it will be worse. It may be a very aggressive, negative election campaign. I would very much like concrete arguments to be used in the election campaign. After all, the election campaign is not a goal in itself and neither is the victory of a specific party. In my opinion—this may sound bombastic—the goal is the good of the country. The parties should remember that the damage caused now will have a very negative effect later. At a time when our democracy is still very weak, self-discipline should be practiced so that attacks are not launched on the basic elements of our reform. If they are attacked, I fear for the development of our country.

The election campaign should not undermine the authority of state institutions. It is a very bad thing if the Sejm as such is attacked. That also applies to other institutions. If the Senate proposes a controversial law, that is no justification for asserting that the the chamber should be abolished. [passage omitted]

Costs of Upcoming Election Campaign Examined

AU1408161391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10-11 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Kazimierz Groblewski report: "Six Million To Become a Deputy"]

[Text] The election campaign for all the parliamentary candidates on any one voting list may cost no more than 103.5 million zlotys [Z], says the election code. That is 60 times the average monthly income in six basic spheres of material production in June. If in constituency number one, which includes Warsaw, any election committee produces a complete voting list, it may not spend more than Z6.84 million on the election campaign of any one parliamentary candidate, assigning the same amount of money to each candidate.

For Z6 million one can hire a movie theater several times over. Hiring the "Wisla" theater for two hours in the morning would cost about Z700,000, and the "Sawa" theater would cost Z2 million for the same period.

The hire of a "Nysa" car with loudspeakers costs Z300,000 per day, plus Z20,000 per hour for the driver. For Z6 million one can hire a "Nysa" for 15 days, or have a 30-second election broadcast before or after the morning news. One minute of election broadcasting on television channel one will cost Z10 million, Z20 million, or Z40 million, depending on the wave band.

Election bulletins will be broadcast on the radio, but the exact times are not yet known. A 30-second election slot on the first program would cost about Z1.5 million between 1610 and 1715.

For Z6 million, students from the "Manius" students cooperative will put up about 4,000 election posters. One poster alone costs Z1,500.

The printing of a single black and white election poster of A2 format (60 by 43 cm) or B2 format (68 by 50 cm) would cost between Z1,200 and Z1,500 at the "Triad" printing plant. A color poster would cost from Z5,000 to Z6,000. With a large print run of, say, 100,000 copies, the price would be about one-third less.

Aleksander Ferens, assistant chief of the election staff of the Liberal-Democratic Congress, said that the biggest problem is the fact that many Congress candidates can afford to pay for their own election campaigns. Because the electorate will vote for individual candidates, not the parties they represent, there are fears that the candidates will wage personal election campaigns and use up the entire voting list's financial allowance just on themselves.

Andrzej Anusz, Center Accord secretary, says that the Center Accord campaign will be based on the so-called locomotive principle. Two or three well-known candidates will pull the entire list along. He claims that 80 percent of the entire list's election campaign money will be spent on these candidates. Because there is no financial limit on national election lists, the costs of election posters and leaflets can be included in the campaign expenses of the national voting list. The Center Accord will need about 1 million posters, and there will be T-shirts, badges, pens, and cigarette lighters.

Rafal Szymczak of the Democratic Union's press bureau said that the Union's biggest expense will be the printing of folders containing the Union program. Small black and white folders have already been produced and will be handed out during the collection of signatures, but there will also be large folders with color photographs. The Union is preparing its own material to be used on radio and television election broadcasts.

An election committee that presents voting lists in all 37 constituencies may not spend more than Z3.8 billion on its entire election campaign, says the election code. The penalty for exceeding this amount is a fine, payable to the State Treasury, amounting to five times the excess amount. However, the code does not impose any financial limit on the campaign expenses for candidates on national voting lists.

Bujak on Democratic-Social Movement Aims

AU1408142691 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the Democratic-Social Movement, by Eliza Olczyk; place and date not given: "On the Left Side of the Scene"]

[Text] [Olczyk] You are the leader of a small and not particularly well-known political group. However, from many of your statements, it would appear that the Democratic-Social Movement has enormous political ambitions. In the upcoming elections, you intend to win over the electorates of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland and the Party "X," and fill the gap—as you say yourself—on the left side of the political scene. Is your appetite too large, bearing in mind things as they actually are?

[Bujak] What does it mean for a party to find itself on the left side in politics? A group that has that kind of position first wants to and second knows how to examine the problems of broad social strata—the workers and peasants. It can propose an economic policy that will allow the standard of living of the groups that I have mentioned to rise. When I talked about a gap that could be filled, what I had in mind was the fact that the groups that have said that they are leftist until now were not even able to perceive social problems, let alone propose ways of solving them.

Many more examples can be cited. Privatization legislation was introduced without regulating the status of trade unions (operating under new conditions), principles for solving collective disputes, and amendments to the labor code. So, no legal protection has been provided for the employees of enterprises that might go bankrupt. The effect of this oversight was a wave of protests and dramatic strikes, whose participants are struggling to protect the assets of a firm from being sold off and finding themselves left in the lurch. Representatives of the left were present in parliament, but were not, however, able to effectively protect workers' interests.

[Olczyk] A few weeks ago you presented 13 programmatic points that are ideally suited for an election campaign, but are very reminiscent of the slogans that candidates used for the parliamentary elections two years ago. Few of the programs that were proposed then have been realized. How do you intend to convince people that things will be different in the case of the Democratic-Social Movement?

[Bujak] We regard the program that we will present during the election campaign as a pledge made publicly. The Democratic-Social Movement theses are not just slogans that have no backing; we spent several months working on them.

Of course, everything depends on the electorate. Voters should ask themselves two questions before they pick a candidate—who is presenting the program and, in the past, when that person started something was he able to realize it or not. After all, that is a certain kind of guarantee. However, to obtain even greater certainty, one also has to know what kind of people will be implementing the program. Our greatest problem in politics is the fact that one votes for a grouping without knowing who will be in the government afterward. We are the first grouping that has pledged that voters will not be in the dark when they vote for us, that is, they will know who will be in the government later. We will present our cabinet even before the elections. I can guarantee that as soon as people know who will be in the government, they will believe that what we have said in the theses will be realized.

[Olczyk] What makes you believe that the Democratic-Social Movement will win so many seats in the elections that it will be able to form a government?

[Bujak] One can create alliances in parliament and thus obtain a majority. Of course, one has to be in a superior position within a coalition to propose one's own experts for the government.

I want to convince voters about our program. Currently, I am holding meetings in workplaces that are still not attended by that many people—20, 30, 50. A hundred is a lot today. During these meetings I can see that I draw a positive response, that people accept what we are doing, and, in addition, people can immediately test our reaction to their problems. Our movement issued a statement on the Lodz "Fonika" factory, we criticized the purchase of Bell helicopters, and we will intercede on behalf of light industry. If the government pursues the right kind of policy, all these matters can be dealt with and plants can be saved.

[Olczyk] The election campaign has begun, and parties are organizing regional election campaign offices, but the Democratic-Social Movement has not created any structures so far. Do you intend to campaign for the entire movement by yourself?

[Bujak] We were faced with the dilemma of whether we should open 30 election campaign bureaus and spend

millions (which we do not have) or also allocate finds for studying problems, for example, establishing what the general privatization project is, a project which may end in catastrophe. We decided that spending money on the latter was more useful, especially as the election campaign will be primarily conducted on television.

[Olczyk] Are you not afraid that you will be accused of populism if you conduct a campaign with slogans about struggling for social welfare?

[Bujak] Using such slogans is a little populistic, but in our program social policy is an integral part of state policy and economic policy. After analyzing the costs of restructuring enterprises through bankruptcy and later recovery, we ascertained that the price of such an operation is much higher than if one helps an enterprise to avoid bankruptcy.

We see the unemployment problem in a similar way, and that is why we are proposing that unemployment be kept at as low a level as possible. People on the right believe that a high level of unemployment puts pressure on others and forces them to work well. That is incorrect. Unemployment has a bad psychological effect—not only on those who do not have employment, but also on those who are employed. What motivates people to work well is a firm that has a good name and products whose quality is such that people are proud of them. If, in addition, wages are good, then not only plant employees are motivated, but so is everyone else as well.

[Olczyk] You were a "Solidarity" leader for years. Your break with the union occurred under not particularly pleasant circumstances. What do you think about the idea that "Solidarity" should present its own candidates for parliament, and how would you assess their chances of success?

[Bujak] "Solidarity" was a great, moving experience for me. All my political education is the product of working in the union. However, there came a point when I stopped being able to reach agreement with the majority of "Solidarity" activists. The most serious conflict was over those running for the presidency (earlier, I had opposed the division of Warsaw into seven townships, which—as one can now see—has ended in a fiasco for the city). The "Ursus" union organization then recalled me from my post. That is how our ways parted.

When I look at "Solidarity" now, I get the impression that it is an inefficient, incompetent organization that does not feel responsible for the future of those people that it is meant to represent. As a result, the union is very far removed from what it was initially and has lost the trust of society.

"Solidarity" may be very disappointed with the result of the elections. In addition, if some activists enter parliament, that will mean the further organizational collapse of the union with unpredictable consequences for the future. The movement may even find itself overwhelmed by other union organizations. The decision to take part in the elections is also dangerous, because it means that the trade union is being transformed into a political party, and that point marks the beginning of a struggle for power.

Police Trade Union To Nominate Sejm Candidates

AU1408185291 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Aug 91 p 2

["pjw" report: "Policemen Intend To Run For Parliament"]

[Text] On Friday, the State Election Commission received an application to register the All-Polish Election Committee of the Independent, Self-Managing Trade Union of Policemen.

The police want to nominate parliamentary candidates in at least five constituencies. "We will certainly have candidates for Warsaw, Krakow, and Poznan," Jan Mitera, a member of the police trade union election committee, told ZYCIE. "We are banking on large metropolitan areas, with strong police forces. We are a professional milieu of 100,000 people and we have no parliamentary representation."

According to Jan Mitera, it will be a major success to have 10 policemen as Sejm deputies. The election committee is not considering entering into any election alliance.

New Police Chief Hula on Reorganization

AU1408141491 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 9-11 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Roman Hula, commander in chief of the national Police, by Robert Kowal; place and date not given: "The Entire Police Force Has To Be Reorganized"]

[Excerpts] [Kowal] You are currently one of the most popular figures in the country. How do you think the turmoil surrounding your appointment as the new commander in chief has affected the standing of the police in the eyes of the public?

[Hula] I think that the conflict, which did trouble society, has not caused support for the police to grow. However, I am convinced that the level of public confidence in the police will shortly begin to show a rising tendency once again. [passage omitted]

[Kowal] How do you intend to reform the police? How much time do you need to implement a program of complete reorganization?

[Hula] The police force, like the entire country, is going through a process of institutional changes that cannot be effected overnight by means of a decree. To a large extent, society assesses our work on the basis of the degree to which functionaries are seen in the streets. I think that the changes in this area are among the fastest.

To achieve more in this area, we have to rapidly train—provide basic training—to the growing number of candidates that are applying to serve in the police force. Just a year ago, police colleges were empty, now they are bursting at the seams. However, there is an appreciable shortage of experienced personnel. The draft retirement law has caused many specialists to leave the police recently—especially in April and May—and, for example, in Katowice almost 700 persons have been discharged. Now there are units that are almost entirely staffed by young people. They lack good teachers.

I intend to thoroughly debureaucratize the police. I am convinced that the crime prevention division can be made more efficient on the condition that it is relieved of carrying out investigative work. I am banking on the expansion of local policing and expanding the traffic police and the serious crime and information technology departments. Regarding the longer term, we will have to work out a system for an emergency police force, which will respond to events rapidly. However, I would like to be understood correctly, it is to be a long-term process. Nothing is going to happen overnight!

[Kowal] Are you not afraid that one fine day the minister of internal affairs will summon you—as he summoned your predecessor—and say that he does not see further cooperation with you as possible? A rapid advance, and a rapid fall....

[Hula] I do not see anything unusual about that. If that kind of decision is made, I will immediately comply with it. Policemen have achieved the possibility of resigning from a post or leaving the police force "for the good of the service."

World Bank Loan To Aid Banking Modernization

LD1408185591 Warsaw PAP in English 1555 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 14—An agreement between Poland and the World Bank, whereby Poland will receive a 200 million dollar loan to help develop the state sector of the economy, was signed in Warsaw on Wednesday by Ian Hume, head of the World Bank delegation in Poland, and Stefan Kawalec, deputy minister of finance.

Most of the funds will be used for restructuring and commercialising Poland's state-owned banks, as a prelude to privatisation.

Kawalec said that 150 million dollars may be transferred to Polish institutions "soon," while the balance of 50 million dollars will be available only in December 1992. For its part, Poland is to introduce amendments to banking law which will fully secure bank lending.

Hume said that the loan should help significantly in modernising the banking system, without which the privatisation of the Polish economy would be difficult to achieve.

Roman Comments on Privatization, Politics

AU1408175091 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Aug 91 pp 1, 5

[Part two of an interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Cristian Tudor Popescu in Bucharest; date not given: "The Critical Point Can Be Overcome"]

[Text] [Popescu] Did you take into consideration the possibility that the shock therapy you are using in the implementation of reform may push the people toward the kind of nationalist populism that is currently making an obvious comeback? People are fearful and susceptible to influence; they are afraid of brutal changes and of the future....

[Roman] The truth of any political action lies in the balance between what may and what may not be done. There are two economic situations that must be taken into account: The country's situation and the citizen's situation. They are bound to be closely interrelated. The aim of reform is to open up the road toward economic recovery and prosperity. We are going through a critical period—I have often said that. The quality of our governing lies in the way in which we master this situation. I am convinced that, in everything we have done so far, we have taken into consideration the possible tensions that may arise, the citizen's material situation, and what has to be done to set off the whole machinery with a new kind of grease and at another speed. Therefore, my answer is very direct: For us, as it was for others, the answer to the question—"What comes first, work or reward?"—can only be "work." The government's duty is not to put material and other means at the disposal of those who work, as people keep demanding, but rather to give them the possibility that their work will lead directly to profitable results for them. This is the purpose of our whole action. However, having talked to various factory managers and leading personnel, I noted that they do not make use of many of the economic instruments available to them. They ignore these instruments because of the existence of an old structure they are still dependent upon. We are, if you will, on the threshold of transition from routine to innovation.

[Popescu] A decisive aspect of power is what you tell the people and how you do it. Here is a concrete example: In your last televised interview, you used an expression that baffled and even put off many people, an expression that was immediately pounced upon by the press too: You said the Privatization Law is "of Romanian descent [obirsie]." Your kind of speech is normal for a polyglot, in that is it is full of neologisms, occasional paraphrases, frequent changes of topics....

[Roman] I do not really think so. One day we will do a textual analysis of one of my speeches together. You are not right. You want to know why? Because I know my own turn of phrases. More often than not I deliberately use words that are common to the man in the street. But let us go back to my example...

[Popescu] To use the word "descent" ["obirsie"] in this context is—to quote another preferred expression of yours—"like hell" ["ca dracu"]... Then, why did you say "Romanian?" This law is something technical, as you yourself said, and science does not care whether it is Eskimo or Romanian; it only cares if something functions or not.

[Roman] Well, this is exactly what I said at the beginning! Did I not explain what kind of "descent" I was referring to? I could have said "of Romanian concept," but then I would have been referring to the body of the law, not to its starting point! "Descent" meant that we started from a Romanian concept. (The prime minister lost his temper a bit; he is now the professor, and I am the no-good student.) I could have said "origin"...

[Popescu] There were several possibilities. Still, the use of the term "descent"...

[Roman] I chose this word because everybody understands it. I stick to this description, which I consider very good. I repeat, we started off with our own, Romanian concept—I said that at the beginning, just look at today's interview—that can be turned into a law, be it Eskimo, French, English, and so forth, since we are talking about a technical point. (Yes, I am beginning to understand, and, I assure Mr. Petre Roman, many others will understand him too. A linguist may show the prime minister where he went wrong: This Romanian archaic word of Slavic origin—"obirsie"—rather than clarify, actually covered, through its strange sound, the otherwise coherent idea mentioned before, that actually refers to the relationship between such terms as strategy, tactics, and techniques. When you want to be too genuine and suggestive, you end up being confusing. The confidence with which the prime minister justifies his own speech may play nasty tricks on him again in the future.)

[Popescu] You seem to be pretty mad with the press.

[Roman] I am not mad, only disappointed that no daily has a clearly defined political line. The newspapers stand for an amalgam of concepts and various ways of criticism and attack. The political line is the most important thing. This permits great dailies such as NEW YORK TIMES, LE MONDE, DAILY TELEGRAPH, and THE INDEPENDENT to shape public opinion.

[Popescu] Does ROMANIA LIBERA lack a firm political line?

[Roman] Yes, it does. I even told them that.

[Popescu] What about ADEVARUL?

[Roman] ADEVARUL also lacks one. I do not have a proper opinion about the paper; I do not feel it has such a political line, if you will forgive my saying so. As a matter of fact, the break that has occurred with Darie Novaceanu's departure from ADEVARUL somehow proves that this is true. (A break between whom and

whom, Mr. Prime Minister? However, I keep this question to myself; I will not be able to tackle the Darie Novaceanu subject easily for a long time to come.)

[Popescu] I disagree with you on this question. I believe that ADEVARUL has a political line and succeeds in creating public opinion. Even now.

[Roman] It is not impossible—since I do not read the papers from cover to cover every day—that I might have a somewhat distorted view of the current situation. It is possible.

[Popescu] Mr. Prime Minister, if we were to imagine that everything is taking place at an ideal level and that everything you predicted will happen without hindrances, how would you envisage ["anvizajati"—the Romanian version of the English word "envisage", as in the original] the "pattern" [in English, as in the original] at the end of the road?

[Roman] We do not envisage (he smiles); we set out on our way together.

[Popescu] Good. What will Romania be like in the future? In this respect, I would like to mention the example of two countries—chosen without any ulterior motives: Syria and Turkey. In Syria, a very close-knit dictatorial political structure has developed against the background of a relatively liberalized economy with private property, an economy that is quite productive. In Turkey, there are plenty of shops full of western commodities, but the man in the street is quite poor, and does not really have access to goods of these prices, that are mainly for the tourists....

[Roman] This is not true. Unlike Syria, there has been an economic leap forward in Turkey, compared with its situation in the past. I do not want to go into details here; you can do it yourself, quite professionally, too. Let us, however, return to the basic issue you raised. Do you see the difference between what we think, those on the left or center-left, you name it, and the Liberal right—I am referring to the articulate one (there is a very thin smile, like a grin, on the prime minister's lips)? Well, the difference can be summed up as follows: For them, democracy equals market economy; for us, democracy implies market economy. However, the market economy does not imply democracy—we have so many examples of dictatorships in countries where the market economy prevails. The market economy is only a means permitting us to have a healthy economy, without which we cannot carry through the social actions we have set forth as our goal.

[Popescu] Then, in your opinion, there is a difference between democracy and market economy?

[Roman] In the exercise of democracy, we should not interfere with the normal functioning of the market economy, but I am fully convinced that there must also be what we call social justice. Therefore, what we are aiming at is to achieve a balance between prosperity built on the basis of the market economy and on social action for social justice. All this amounts to what I call "a new state of the country," that encompasses tradition, modernity, and also reform. In my opinion, Spain is a good example for Romania. You know that Spain has also come out of a dictatorship; however, it has had the advantage that its dictatorship, although it also controlled everything, had been a right-wing one and did not eliminate the market economy. After the fall of the dictatorship, Spain gave free rein to individual initiatives and energies—social energy combining the personal motivations of individuals—that put it on the right path and turned it into a country with a high standard of living. However, they first had to go through a very critical period, which they overcame due to the rationality and lucidity of the political forces of the time. They belonged to opposite ideological trends—an open and intelligent liberal right first came to power, vis-a-vis a left-wing opposition, consisting of the Socialist and Communist parties. Well, all those forces—in my opinion, most of the praise should go to the Socialist Party—understood the importance of the moment and knowingly joined in the national effort.

[Popescu] So, this is how one should understand your recent appeal... [for a national effort]

[Roman] Yes, this is my appeal.

[Popescu] Has the commission of journalists investigating the houses in Primaverii [Spring] District been set up yet?

[Roman] It is not a commission of journalists, but journalists are invited to participate in it.

[Popescu] Has one volunteered so far to join?

[Roman] Not yet. As a matter of fact, the investigation refers to those unserious, really not serious accusations.... I believe I gave a clear answer to all that. I believe that whipping up the public's emotions about some house allocations, for the sake of sensationalism and a certain reaction, is not good at all for our society. The public should know the truth, but I can see that the criteria of judgment are the same as those left over from the communist period, and this is bad.

[Popescu] Countries going through a reconstruction period like ours send many of their young people for training abroad...

[Roman] Do you know how many Romanian youngsters are now in the West?

[Popescu] No, I wanted to ask you about it.

[Roman] Very many.

[Popescu] In what capacity and how?

[Roman] They are recipients of various scholarships from governmental or nongovernmental institutions. I do not know exactly how they are sent abroad. This is a

good question, and I will try to find out the exact figures, but one thing is sure, there are quite a few of them. In 1969, I won a competitive scholarship to France. Altogether, there were some 300 of us, including those going to the Soviet Union—a ridiculous figure, it is true. Now, we are talking about several thousands.

[Popescu] Did you go to a state or private university in France?

[Roman] There is no private higher education in France—only in the United States and in Great Britain.

[Popescu] What will happen to private higher education in Romania?

[Roman] The Ministry of Education, in charge of providing an answer to that, has set up a commission of professors with certain professional and moral reputations, who have studied the reality of all existing private educational institutions. The conclusions are negative. There is no material base and no professorial corps.... You can consult the report of that commission for yourself.

[Popescu] Do you see someone who could replace you as prime minister?

[Roman] Of course! (He laughs) However, I cannot give you any names. Given my position, that would amount to a kind of political choice, loaded with meaning....

[Popescu] Do you still have the pullover you wore in the days of the revolution, a pullover you thought protected you from bullets?

[Roman] That is right, I had a certain attachment to it. Maybe it did protect me from bullets, who knows. Some bullets did fly past it.

[Popescu] Do you think you will wear it again?

[Roman] God forbid that I have to wear it for that kind of reason again—never! Well... it seems that... it is not possible... this nation has gone through so many things.... We should not even think of something like that!

[Popescu] It is time to end the interview. The prime minister is tired, although he tries to hide it. His sportsman's figure made me not notice—until now, that is—that most of his hair has turned gray.

The moment I reach home, the telephone rings off the hook: "How was it?" "What did Roman look like?" Indeed, how did he impress me?

First of all, he looked robust, both physically and psychologically; energetic and authoritarian. He showed self control and a long practice in logical thinking. (His rare outbursts end up in true orgies of fury.) Very solid inner makeup: I cannot imagine him possessed by any common vice—however, let us not forget that vices tend to add up. The strong point of his personality: Self-confidence, which make people call him "the man of critical moments." His weak point: The same as before. If such a strong personality forges an erroneous picture of reality, it will be most difficult, if not impossible for him to correct it. But, as Mr. Petre Roman said "we should not even think of something like that!"

Press Notes PSM, Reformed Communist Revival

AU1308162191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/8/1991—Reformed communism has started the offensive, joining in the local election competition, concludes LIBERTATEA, "the first free newspaper of the Romanian revolution," in a coverage of the first congress of the Socialist Party of Labour [PSM] held on August 10 in Bucharest.

Under the headline "The PSM in the Limelights: Nostalgia and Adjustment," the newspaper stresses that "the political program it debated revealed not only the party's getting rid of complexes and shyness, but even a certain offensive position of the PSM that defines itself as "the furtherer of the progressive traditions of the worker and socialist movement" including of those of the period after 1944." "So, the descent from the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] is openly acknowledged," the newspaper writes, opining that it "is a rather risky heritage."

Referring to the growing popularity of the PSM lately, the newspaper stresses that "even if the membership of one million alleged at the conference were not correct—officially, the party's chairman Ilie Verdet mentioned "only a tremendous number of members and supporters"—the party leadership's satisfaction at its growth in numbers and organizational consolidation was conspicuous." This "organizational consolidation," the paper mentions, may be explained by the fact that the PSM now has "professional cadres that, thanks to an experience of several decades, know how to "mobilize," to efficiently employ the means of political work as well as "by the tenacity with which the PSM campaigners have started the political struggle." The independent daily "TINERETUL LIBER" also writes under the headline "Remorseless, in an Exemplary Comradely Spirit" that "now, nine months after its setting up, the PSM is an organization with hundreds of thousands of members and supporters, having branches in all counties, municipalities and towns of the country, in industry, agriculture, institutions, districts that, according to Mr. Verdet, enroll an immense mass of people."

In turn, daily ADEVARUL writes in a coverage headed "The Socialist Party of Labour Crosses the Rubicon" that it was said at the congress that "although a dying conception against communism has been accredited, it is not about a failure of communism, it is just a crisis of dictatorial systems."

Lawyers Offer Opinions on Communist Party Status

AU1408141291 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Aug 91 p 1

[A.M. PRESS note: "To Whom Does the RCP Patrimony Belong?"]

[Text] Following the announcements published in the press regarding the reorganization of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and its legal existence—on the basis of the court decision of 1945—the independent news agency A.M. PRESS asked several lawyers to present their opinions and received the following answer: In accordance with Decree Law No. 30 of 18 January 1990, on transferring former RCP patrimony to the property of the state, the assets of the Communist Party have been confiscated, among other reasons also "because the former RCP, in its form, structure, and internal organization during the Ceausescu dictatorship, ceased to exist after the December 1989 revolution began." As one can see, the reasoning is that the party ceased to exist only "in the form, structure, and internal organization that existed during the Ceausescu regime," but not as a legal entity. However, since Article No. 45 of Decree No. 31/1954 states that a legal entity (such as the RCP) is dissolved when its goal can no longer be achieved and the objective of "installing socialism and communism in Romania" is not possible, one can consider the RCP dismantled. Moreover, since transferring the patrimony to the property of the state is a form of civil punishment, one can assume that this implicitly means the dissolution of the RCP as a physical entity.

In conclusion, the claim that the RCP would exist legally has no foundation whatsoever, and its revival can take place only through ways stipulated by current laws.

Iliescu Promulgates 'Optimum' Privatization Law

AU1408193891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/8/1991—On Wednesday, August 14, 1991 Romania's President Ion Iliescu promulgated the law on the privatisation of commercial companies. This law was adopted by the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate on July 31, 1991.

Referring to the law on the privatisation of commercial companies he promulgated on Wednesday, August 14, 1991, President Ion Iliescu considers "that in its present form the law meets satisfactorily the main requirements concerning the privatisation of those companies and represents an optimum law for the promotion of a very complex process." In his opinion "the postponement of the law would not have helped but it would have made more difficult the economic reform programme and the profitability of the national economy." "I found no reason for its postponement and sending back to Parliament for further debates, as I have been requested by certain political and trade union formations. Taking into consideration the present form of the law, I do not think that the expressed restraints and fears are well grounded," he said.

Making reference to the fact that the privatisation process "has no equivalent experience," this being the reason for such a long time for its elaboration, the president considers "as completely ungrounded the appreciation that it was elaborated and promoted in a hurry." "Numerous discussions on the basic problems of the law were held among experts at the economic research institute, in the specialized press, in certain periodicals, at the television." At the same time, the team having worked at the elaboration of the bill consulted many Romanian and foreign experts, debates were held with representatives of political formations and trade union centrals, President Iliescu specified, adding:

"Parliament worked almost two months of this law, one and a half month in special commissions made up of representatives of all the parliamentary groups who discuss and registered 173 amendments, and then about two weeks in the plenum of the two chambers when other amendments were made. Comparing the texts of the law adopted by Parliament with the initial draft of the government one can note substantial changes which show the concern to take into consideration all critical remarks and proposals made, by the political groups that walked out during the debates in Parliament included. From this point of view I can but express my regret that both the opposition and the majority group have not proved patience and tolerance to be able to work together until the end and that they have not used my assistance which pursued the finding of away to conciliation."

In his opinion, the differences of opinions on this law "are inevitable in conditions of a multiparty structure and especially of complex processes like those concerning the transition to a market economy. Now it is important that the measures for its enforcement be taken in due time as many of them will have to be approved by Parliament as well."

Melescanu on Bessarabia, Bukovina Issues

AU1408174391 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 9 Aug 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Teodor Melescanu, deputy minister of foreign affairs, by Virgil Mihailovici; place and date not given: "Why Do We Not Yet Have Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Treasury?"]

[Text] Romania has never raised direct territorial claims because, in accordance with the provisions of the 1947 Paris Peace Conference and the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, it was believed that Romania's borders have been established. However, during President Ion Iliescu's visit to Moscow and the ensuing summit meeting, two kinds of issues were raised: territorial ones, particularly Serpent Island, which is essential for the delimitation of the continental shelf in the Black Sea, and the problem of the treasury.

[Mihailovici] Our efforts are rather hesitant... Are we to understand that the aforementioned historical meetings settled borders for good?

[Melescanu] The Paris conference established current borders, while in the Helsinki Act, European states declared that they had no territorial claims on each other and pledged not to alter borders.

[Mihailovici] Yes, those who were not directly involved pledged this. England, for instance, was probably indifferent to an eventual claim of ours on the USSR....

[Melescanu] No, the aim of what was confirmed in Helsinki was to ensure European stability by not altering borders! This actually explains the position of countries on the situation in Yugoslavia, to preserve that state's integrity. This does not stem from sympathy, as we could believe, but from a sense of European conservation.

[Mihailovici] Would our claim, which is justified, affect European stability?

[Melescanu] One of the principles of current international law is the one of self-determination. In our case—the question of Bessarabia and Bukovina—the issue is not what we are claiming, but rather the desire of the Moldovans on the other side of the Prut River. For the time being, they favor sovereignty toward both the USSR and ourselves! Therefore, relations between us and Moldova have to be privileged, unlike relations between Romania and another foreign state. The principle of territorial claims, of altering the border in accordance with the former historic map, does not function any more. In the case of Bukovina, the situation is even more complicated, because it is located on Ukrainian territory, where the Romanian population hardly represents 20 percent.

[Mihailovici] Nevertheless, the Helsinki Final Act does not exclude the possibility of altering borders by cordial means. This is why I believe that Romania's claim is not only justified, but also needed...

[Melescanu] I personally believe that we are speaking of two distinct elements here. Romania's political position of not claiming anything at this time is for preserving current borders and for the problem of historic truth. Aside from being aware of the historical situation of that time, we also have to establish lasting cultural ties between Romanians: free travel, the use of the Romanian language, and so forth.

[Mihailovici] Thus, our claim has not been made officially, although it is justified. We do not understand why it actually has not been made. Let us say that this is possible tomorrow. In what terms would it be made?

[Melescanu] Only to the extent to which the population in the territories in question would be interested in getting closer to Romania.

[Mihailovici] Let us continue with our hypothesis; let us say that this incredible thing would happen tomorrow, and Romania's border would return to what it was before. Have you thought of its implications? Would this benefit us or not?

[Melescanu] I think that the most opportune current idea would be the one stated by Titulescu [former Romanian diplomat], namely the one of symbolic geographic borders. Nevertheless, the implications that would arise from an annexation to Romania are hard to figure out, because everything will depend very much on Romania's economic development and on that of Moldova. Let us not forget that Moldova, Bukovina, and the territory from the Bulgarians, do not excel from an industrial point of view, but rather from an agricultural one.

[Mihailovici] We are talking a lot about why we want this, why the Romanians in those territories would want it, but we have excluded the will of the one who possesses them at this time, the USSR.

[Melescanu] The problem of returning those territories will depend, to a great extent, on the new Union Treaty and by whom and at what level it will be signed. From a strictly legal point of view, I think there would be no impediment; however, the problem is a political one, and we should not exclude the economic problem either.

Neither should we forget the impact it would have on the idea of separation of certain territories, and the idea of a chain reaction that would conflict not so much with Peter's will, but rather with the current situation. Also, from an economic point of view the loss of these territories would pose a serious problem. The Baltic countries have great weight in electronics production, and Moldova and the Ukraine are the country's bread basket. Armenia and the southern areas are great producers of tropical plants and cotton. Therefore, I believe that there is no such desire on the part of the Soviets to cede these territories. What is at stake is not so much reestablishing borders, but rather establishing symbolic borders between Romanians; the attitude of the Soviets toward this idea is a favorable one, and that is a great deal.

[Mihailovici] If the situation of the territories is what it is, then let us at least clarify the problem of the treasury....

[Melescanu] In 1918, when the territory was occupied by the German Army, with the exception of the vicinity of Iasi, the question arose over the government and the country's treasury being taken to a place of safety in Russia. Thus, cars loaded with paintings, jewelry, gold, furs, foreign currency, rare books, and other things left Romania. Everything was handed over, together with an inventory list. Following arguments between the specialized publications, the problem of recovering those assets was posed during our president's visit to Moscow. There

had been such requests prior to this meeting, and the answers were "when you have a truly democratic government"; this was before the world war, while afterward the Soviets thought that this treasury was a sort of compensation for the fact that we had illegally occupied Bessarabia and Bukovina! For the time being, we are in the stage of investigating archives to see what we know, what existed, and what documents we still possess. We have asked the relevant institutions for information, and we are in the stage of looking for the truth. We have also employed some consultants; we are carrying out our own investigations to compile our documentation for the meeting. I think that by the fall we will know more precisely what our claims are. We understand that the Soviets are doing more or less the same thing.

[Mihailovici] Let us return to Moscow. What was Gorbachev's reaction when President Iliescu raised the question?

[Melescanu] The first reaction was that he did not know what the real situation was. He promised assistance, but asked for time to familiarize himself with the issue. The contacts we have had with the Soviets since then prove that investigations have begun. It seems that up to 1924-1925, the treasury was in the Kremlin, after which it was "lost" according to type of object. The books landed in libraries, the gold in banks, and so forth. We have gotten back only part of the pieces making up the treasury of Pietroasele, namely the "Golden Hen and Chicken." This happened during Khrushchev's time, and it was viewed as a gesture of goodwill rather than anything else. But apart from their value, we want back the historic objects belonging to us and whose place is in Romania, and the famous manuscripts that would demonstrate not only the need, but the fact, that one can take back what, up to now, was considered lost. Let us still have confidence, and let us be optimistic.

Federal

BORBA: Markovic 'Should Finally Admit Failure'

LD1408220291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 14 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA says today that Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic "should finally admit failure".

Commenting on what it sees as Markovic's latest futile talks with the premiers of Yugoslavia's northwestern Republics of Slovenia and Croatia which last June unilaterally proclaimed independence and sovereignty, POLITIKA says that "in both republics he was received as a foreigner because the hosts had inisisted that the talks be held in the form of negotiations between states".

Both Zagreb and Ljubljana regard the Brioni Declaration as "a vague document", the paper adds, although it was adopted in their interest.

"The declaration, adopted in the presence of a European ministerial troika, was to be the basis for a government programme for the functioning of the Federal state during a three month period in which the status quo would be maintained!, explains POLITIKA.

The paper says that the Slovenian and Croatian govenments [word indistinct] on the declaration 'the interpretation that suits them best ... They turn a deaf ear to the question of their contributions to the Federal budget, they insist on an immediate withdrawal of the 'army of occupation' and they usurp customs revenues ..."

"The only interest Slovenia and Croatia have in Yugoslavia is insofar as they can exploit it", says POLITIKA.

The paper concludes that the futile talks in Zagreb and Ljubljana were only the latest in "a series of the government's erroneous moves".

Press Cited on Reaction to Milosevic Initiative

LD1408182591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1306 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 14 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily BORBA writes on Wednesday that the Belgrade initiative of the ranking representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Montenegro "for a peaceful and democratic solution of the crisis and for adopting a new constitution of Yugoslavia" can be interpreted as a "sign" of the Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic to the Presidents [of Croatia] Tudjman, [of Slovenia] Kucan, [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Izetbegovic, [of Macedonia] Gligorov, and (Prime Minister) Markovic and Europe—that Serbia was now prepared to negotiate about a "third option."

Yugoslavia was in the "initiative" being mentioned "as a common state of equal republics and peoples," and not as a federation, writes BORBA and concludes that it was realistic to expect that a meeting of republican presidents could soon be called to consider in concrete terms the "questions about the essence and form of the future common state."

In a comment headlined "Living Together," the Belgrade daily POLITIKA emphasizes that the "initiative" contained all the elementary principles of a modern common state, whose complexity was being respected and acknowledged, but also a minimum of communality as seen in all other European and world countries strived for.

Pointing out what a "dismantling" of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina would be like at the expense of the idea of liquidating Yugoslavia, the Sarajevo-based daily OSLOBODJENJE asks whether the Slovenes and Croats, who resolutely rejected Yugoslavia, had the right to deny the others the wish for Yugoslavia, all the more so since Yugoslavia has been in existence for 73 years.

POBJEDA of Titograd assesses that the Belgrade document with its basic concepts enabled a test "who trully wished a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, and who in these parts favored only the language of weapons."

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK stresses that it would perhaps be "pretentious" to say that in Belgrade "a new Yugoslavia was hatched, nationally and territorially so truncated and impoverished that it actually had no sound reason to retain its old name."

The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI sets out that "distrust among the partners in power precluded any progress towards a compromise accord" and that "doubts were cast a priori on everything arriving from the other side, even if this meant only offering a hand."

Cease-Fire Commission Members Head for Osijek

LD1508114791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Borovo Selo, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—Following almost two and one-half hours of talks in Borovo Selo with members of the Serbian people in Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, members of the Federal Cease-Fire Commission left for Osijek. SFRY Presidency members Bogic Bogicevic and Vasil Tupurkovski, and SFRY Assembly Vice President Irfan Ajanovic are charged with talking with top Osijek officials and reaching a specific agreement on the release of prisoners on the basis of the principle "all for all".

Croatian Ministers Zivko Juzbasic and Drazen Budisa are traveling together with the Cease-Fire Commission members.

POLITIKA Eyes 'Tripartite Peace Initiative'

LD1408125591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 14 (TANJUG)—A commentary today in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, by Editor in Chief Aleksandar Prlja, says that the Belgrade "tripartite peace initiative" for the preservation of Yugoslavia could be an indicator of the real intentions and ambitions of certain European powers towards Yugoslavia, primarily countries like Austria and Germany.

POLITIKA sees the Belgrade "tripartite peace initiative" for Yugoslavia (set out by three Yugoslav republics—Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina) as a chance to "bring matters to a head".

The Belgrade initiative is an opportunity for Helmut Kohl to join the processes of making a democratic common state, the paper writes, adding that "this state cannot be something against the official stands of the European Community" and "especially the democratic world".

POLITIKA fears that "every attempt to preserve a democratic and equal community will speed up activities of those who no longer hide their desire to break up (Yugoslavia) and create new spheres of interest in the Balkans".

"Intolerance is most clearly felt in Vienna", POLITIKA writes.

The paper assesses that the importance of the Belgrade tripartite initiative, based on the principle of democratic life and equality, could be understood even better if the violent dismembering and blackmailing of Yugoslavia become the state policy of some biggest Germanic and European powers.

Federal Assembly Official on 'Total Cease-Fire'

LD1408202491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 14 (TANJUG)—A total ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia must take effect on August 20, the day of the opening of a new round of political talks on the future of Yugoslavia, Vice-President of the Federal Parliament Irfan Ajanovic told the press today.

Ajanovic, who is a member of a State Commission for Monitoring the ceasefire in Croatia, said that the State Presidency's decision on the ceasefire was not being respected. He said he was convinced, however, that ceasefire violations would become less frequent by August 20, because the commission's first monitoring teams, whose composition is not in dispute, were starting out today.

The decision of the Presidency of Yugoslavia on a ceasefire between the armed formations of the Republic of Croatia and the republics armed Serbian population came into force in the early morning of August 7.

Ajanovic said that it had been agreed yesterday with the Croatian leadership to augment the number of members on the observer teams by representatives of the republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia in case of an absence of representatives of Slovenia.

Ajanovic explained that the crisis spots would be visited by between 80 and 100 monitors, comprising police inspectors in plain clothes and bearing distinctive insignia.

He went on to say that the Federal government had formed a commission of experts to investigate the events in the villages of Dalj, Sarvas and Lovinac.

The parties to the conflict in Croatia are accusing each other of a massacre of civilians in the villages.

Asked if the political talks would encompass the problem of internal boundaries, Ajanovic said that all questions in dispute should be cleared up, including the problem of boundaries.

BORBA Views Suspension of Payments

LD1408134291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 14 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that a 'money war' in Yugoslavia has been waged for some time now mostly between Serbia and Croatia which have apparently decided not to let the other side have a single dinar even though they will have to pay for the consequences themselves.

Director of the Accounting Service of Serbia Dragan Jovanovic said that since the middle of last week, there have been no payments from Croatia, BORBA writes.

'We have proof that the Croatian accounting service is striking out the accounts on orders from enterprises for payments to Serbia and transferring them to a special account,' Jovanovic said.

He added that payments to legal entities in crisis areas in Croatia in particular were blocked.

Jovanovic said that Serbia was preparing countermeasures to protect its material and financial interests, which will imply 'a selective approach in payment operations with Croatia.'

Official information could not be obtained on the Croatian side, BORBA writes, while competent officials in the Croatian accounting service unofficially said that payment operations continued, as was also the case with other republics.

Assistant Director of the Accounting Service of Slovenia Stanislav Brodnjak said that payments were going normally as far as that republic was concerned and that the

average 73 percent drop in payments with the other republics was the result of the reduced volume of business between enterprises.

Assistant General Director of the Accounting Service of Bosnia-Hercegovina Mirsad Hajro and Director of the Accounting Service of Macedonia Ilija Boskov also said that payment operations with other republics continue.

Daily on Army's 'Final Showdown' With Croatia

LD1408121591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1034 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 14 (TANJUG)—Zagreb daily VJESNIK assessed on Wednesday that Thursday could be the day of 'final showdown' of Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) with Croatia.

In a series of articles and in the weekly supplement strongly attacking the JNA, VJESNIK asks 'Is August 15 really the "D Day" for a military aggression against Croatia' or perhaps an introduction into clashes of world proportions.

The daily points out that 'the JNA has by amassing troops at the border with Albania, and with the war against Croatia—become a bomb threatening peace in the world.'

In the article headlined 'Does the Army Wish for a Third World War', VJESNIK cites that 'numerous facts were pointing out that the Yugoslav Army was undertaking strategic preparations for a possible clash with the forces of NATO.'

In support of such a thesis, VJESNIK cites that the Yugoslav Army has during the visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev obtained the most sophisticated MiG-29 fighter bombers, 'which have a range from Batajnica, near Belgrade, to NATO bases in Sicily.'

VJESNIK claims that the Yugoslav Army 'appetites' 'were much bigger than the mere conquests in Yugoslavia,' and accuses also the Yugoslav military commentators of 'making up all sorts of Berlin-Tokyo axes' and 'German-Japanese claims for a new division of the world', so as to justify the army's possible future actions.

Army Official on Exchange of Prisoners

LD1408174291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1603 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, Aug 14 (TANJUG)—Colonel Branimir Bajic, spokesman for the Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), said today that about 100 captured Serbs and Croats had been exchanged since the ceasefire in the Republic of Croatia came into effect on August 7.

Bajic revealed at a news conference details of yesterday's exchange of 75 prisoners in the village of Tepljuh near Knin.

He said that during the contact in Telpjuh yesterday there had also been mention of the release of 24 Serbs civilians currently held in a prison in Sisak, in the region of Banija in Croatia.

"I have seen the signature of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on an amnesty document dealing with this matter," Bajic said.

Gen. Adzic Warns of Separatist, Secessionist Acts

LD1508085391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0807 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Aug (Tanjug)—On the occasion of Frontier Defense Units Day, 15 August, Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the general staff [CGS] of the SFRY Armed Forces, sent a message of congratulations to soldiers and officers of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] frontier defense units.

Among other things, the message of congratulations says the following:

"Our common homeland is going through dramatic and crucial times. Separatists and secessionists are persistently working on the breakup of Yugoslavia. They are assaulting pan-Yugoslav values, including the YPA. In order to achieve that, they are using all available propaganda and other methods."

The CGS message of congratulations expresses the conviction that the frontier defense units at the outpost of our country have at heart the pan-Yugoslav interests and interests of peace and the democratic and free development of Yugoslavia. The message voices hope that the frontier defense units, together with other YPA members, are ready to carry out their tasks in preventing bloodshed and large-scale tragedies. In the name of these values and in the name of their duties, Gen. Adzic called on all soldiers of the frontier defense units to adopt a professional attitude toward their tasks. He also wished them success in their work.

Guards Report 15 Albanian Border Incidents

LD1408142991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Ohrid, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—A total of 15 armed incidents were registered recently on the southwestern section of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, near Struga, during which Albanian border guards opened fire on Yugoslav soldiers. During the past three months, especially in August, Albanian border guards and citizens tried to enter Yugoslav territory illegally by force.

TANJUG was told this today by the Ohrid border guard command, which said that during one such clash Yugoslav People's Army border guards returned the fire from the Albanian side and captured five Albanian border guards and seized four PRC-made automatic rifles.

The incidents occurred along the border strip on Jablanica and Belica Mountains. [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

Yugoslav border guards claim that on 11 August, in the same border strip section, an attempt by over 20 Albanian citizens to enter Yugoslav territory by force was repelled. Our men, it is stressed, opened fire on them after they failed to respond to the warnings to go back to Albanian territory. [passage omitted]

Crisis Effect on National Economy 'Disastrous'

LD1408184691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy today warned the Presidency of Yugoslavia that the extremely tense political situation, armed conflicts and uncertainty as regards the country's future were having a disastrous effect on the national economy.

In a letter sent to the state leadership, the Chamber of the Economy says that the country's economic system is in a chaotic situation, that there are not even minimum conditions of economic activity and that the economy has virtually been placed in a position of hostage to politics.

The letter goes on to list consequences faced by production as a result of a considerable section of skilled labour being pulled out of the process of production and mobilized in the regular and paramilitary armed formations.

The letter says that, as a result, sectors of production are being growingly reoriented to war production, which reduces the supply of the market amd the population.

For this reason, the Chamber of the Economy proposes an urgent meeting of its leadership with the State Presidency, representatives of the federal government and the presidents of the republican governments and chambers of the economy, for consultations conducive to the creation of conditions necessary for the functioning of the economy until the Yugoslav crisis should finally be resolved and new political and economic relations in the country established.

International

Loncar Receives Soviet Assurances

LD1408165791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar today received USSR Ambassador to Yugoslavia Vadim Loginov, who gave Loncar a written message from Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

The message says that the Soviet leadership supports the 6 August SFRY Presidency decision on the cease-fire as an important step which—together with a complex program of the Yugoslav Government—paves the way for an acceptable and stable solution. It also voices trust that Yugoslavs themselves will be capable of finding a democratic way out of the existing situation and of preserving the country's integrity.

The message also reiterates the USSR position regarding ways of resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Loncar Talks With EC's Van den Broek

LD1408151291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar spoke today with Hans Van den Broek, Netherlands minister for foreign affairs and the chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, it was announced by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Minister Van den Broek was interested in the latest development in the Yugoslav situation and especially in the implementation of the decision by the SFRY Presidency on the cease-fire.

According to the same statement, the Netherlands minister expressed readiness of the EC to offer good services and aid in accordance with the decision of the recent meeting of the committee of the high officials of the CSCE, in the forthcoming dialogue on the future strucutre of Yugoslavia.

Van den Broek also talked about the results of the session of the European Parliament committee for political issues, in which he participated.

Loncar, it was stated by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, informed Minister Van den Broek that the SFRY Presidency will carry out necessary preparations at its next session on Friday, 16 August, for the beginning of a meaningful dialogue on the future structure of Yugoslavia during the first few days of next week.

Foreign Minister Comments on Ties With Austria

LD1408193191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—"Austria is tied by its state treaty and by its neutrality commitments, which is one of the elements that justifies the circumspection displayed by Austrian diplomacy and politics regarding the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, which does not mean that they will not overcome that moment [as received] and get rid of it." This was said today by Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic during a news conference following his three-day visit to Austria.

Besides Austria, among the countries "with which contacts have been facilitated because of the similarity of

views," Separovic mentioned Germany, Canada, Australia, Romania, and Bulgaria, and contacts with Albanian diplomats.

Separovic stressed that "changes of existing internal borders in the country, which must be guaranteed, do not come into consideration. They are the 1945 borders, which are not only administrative, but historic and de facto borders as well." "This does not mean that later, during talks, some adjustments could not occur, in the sense that some minor adjustments could be discussed by both sides [obostrano]," said Separovic.

BORBA Relates Domestic, European 'Tensions'

LD1508021191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2233 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 14 (TANJUG)—In a commentary headlined 'Sketches of Lasting [word indistinct]' and carried in its issue for tomorrow, the Belgrade daily BORBA asks whether the Europeans will have to postpone their plans for unification because of differing views on the ways to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

It would certainly be presumptuous to say that this Balkan state is dividing Europe and that Europe is threatened by the Serbo-Croatian drama, the BORBA commentator says.

[Words indistinct] of Yugoslavia is bringing to the fore all inter-state tensions in Europe pushed aside in the noble aspirations for a united Europe, the paper adds.

In substantiation, BORBA quotes The Hague's recent objection to Bonn. The ranks of Europeans dissatisfied with Germany's excessive zeal are swelling, the paper says.

The possibility should not be ruled out of this dissatisfaction turning into a 'rejection front' to the rising Teutonic aspirations, concludes BORBA.

Slovenia

Pucnik on Demos Coalition, Army Withdrawal

AU1408133091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 14 aug 91

[Text] Joze Pucnik, president of Demos and the Social-Democratic Party of Slovenia, visited the Mura basin last night. Here is a report by our Murska Sobota correspondent Marjan Dora:

[Dora] After his visit to Gornja Radgona yesterday and the talks with [words indistinct] of the recent aggression by the Yugoslav Army, Joze Pucnik, president of the Slovene Social Democrats, visited (?Muravske) Toplice, where he stayed until late last night and had more talks with members of his party in the region. They spoke above all about the effectiveness of the government coalition, about the need for changes, and about the fact that the Social Democratic Party [words indistinct] in Demos coalition and Pucnik's being its president is frequently losing people.

Pucnik reiterated that Demos faces really difficult tests and that what is involved is in fact a temporary marriage with certain joint tasks and aims, and if it turns out that in that union the Social Democrats can no longer fulfill their promises well, they will leave the coalition. They will then organize themselves in new ways, would join new unions and coalitions. The party will decide at its conference whom it will join and in what way. According to Pucnik, the present several coalitions of the opposition are out of the question. Some other time perhaps, he said, when some grass grows over [word indistinct] communists.

The party president then heard some very critical remarks by his Mura basin members concerning the work of the party leadership in Ljubljana and the work of the deputies to the republican and communal assemblies. They also complained that the media do not like them.

Regarding the withdrawal of the Army from Slovenia with all the expensive equipment, Pucnik told the people of the Mura basin that the Army should be allowed take away that equipment—according to some estimates worth $5 billion—so long as they never come back. However, we Slovenes must certainly remain vigilant because the Army's intentions are transparent enough: to concentrate one's forces in the war against Croatia and then, when that is over, it is Slovenia's turn again.

Now we may hope that if [words indistinct] the extent of aggression against Croatia, the democratic public of Europe and the world established its [word indistinct] and that there will be no new aggression against Slovenia. If that, nevertheless, happens, it will be much more resolute and destructive and we Slovenes would respond in the same way, Joze Pucnik said in (?Muravske) Toplice last night.

Interior Minister on Border Protection

LD1408234191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, August 14 (TANJUG)—Minister of Internal Affairs of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Igor Bavcar today said that a new concept of protection of Slovenia's border envisaged for hunters and fishermen to take part in protecting the border in the future.

In a statement made to Radio Slovenia, Bavcar said that the "new concept, worked out in the (republican) Interior Ministry, is based on the people populating the border areas."

He added that police units with sophisticated equipment would be deployed along the border, and also in the interior, i.e., away from the border. Bavcar explained

that an effort would be made to "secure the border by covering certain communications."

He stressed that the idea was to permit the movement in the border belt of "sportsmen, hunters, fishermen and others who know the terrain," who would be mobilized to "keep us informed about changes along the border."

He said that, at the expiry of the moratorium and the adoption of new laws, the procedure for crossing the Slovenia-Austria border or the Slovenia-Croatia border would be no different from that for crossing the Austria-Germany border.

On June 25, the Slovenian parliament unilaterally proclaimed the republic's independence and sovereignty. On July 7, the top federal bodies and the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics signed a declaration on the island of Brioni in the presence of a ministerial troika of the European Community. The Brioni Declaration envisages for a three-month moratorium on all unilateral decisions taken by individual federal units.

DELO Discusses Formal Independence Recognition

LD1408183191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1259 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Aug 14 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian daily DELO writes on Wednesday that formal recognition of the independence of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia should be preceded by the establishing of normal economic and other ties with its neighbours and the world.

The formal recognition of Slovenia is the final step, says the daily, published in the Slovenian capital Ljubljana.

Slovenia decided to secede from Yugoslavia on June 25.

DELO considers that the insistence on formal recognition of Slovenia's independence is exaggerated, as is the wrath being poured on "European diplomats after every meeting at which such a possibility was not explicitly pointed up."

Therefore, when all broken contacts with neighbours are renewed, formal recognition will come on its own, the daily concludes.

Memorandum on Country's Future Presented

AU1408123091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Edo Zitnik report]

[Text] At a news conference held today, Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel presented a special memorandum that Slovenia has sent to all CSCE member-countries. He expounded on some of the most recent initiatives of Slovene diplomacy concerning ways to solve the Yugoslav crisis.

[Zitnik] It is a fact, and the Slovene mister did not try to conceal it, that Slovene politicians have lately lost incentive to solve the Yugoslav crisis, which, whether we wanted it or not, is still a factor with an essential influence on Slovenia's position regarding the political and economic spheres and international law. It is therefore logical that Slovenia, if it wants that [words indistinct] as concerns the implementation of its long-term vital aims, presented its own plan about solving the crisis. This plan is a synthesis of all initiatives made so far on the territory of Yugoslavia. It respects Yugoslav reality, and at the same time does not deviate from the basic already known starting points of the Republic of Slovenia. Its working title is The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Yugoslavia and this is how Minister Rupel expounded on it:

[Begin Rupel recording] We think that one should comply with documents and statements made by Yugoslav politicians ranging from, if you like, our idea about confederation that we prepared together with the Croats to the proposal made by Izetbegovic and Gligorov. We are of the opinion that Yugoslavia may function in the future, that is, that this sphere can be functionally and peacefully arranged if we organize it in a corresponding way, that is, the largest part should be organized in a federal way and one would then accede to this federal part that part which Croatia is in, or perhaps Macedonia as well. As far as Slovenia is concerned, it is possible for it to keep only a very, I would say, symbolic union with the other Yugoslav republics, which in our document we call The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Yugoslavia.

I think that it is time—how shall I put it—to pass over general (?issues) and move to constructive initiatives that is, in short, to present ourselves to the West as a partner who is capable of thinking constructively about the situation in this part of the world and who is, let me put it this way, ready to advocate European ideas on this territory and is ready to commit itself in having our relations be permanently arranged in an acceptable way. [end recording]

What is involved now is certainly a very general model, which, according to Rupel, should then be filled with substance. In other words, it is necessary to see what the stands of the other Yugoslav sides are about this. Anyway, one can already say that Slovene diplomacy [word indistinct] reality, and indeed uses a more flexible foreign policy. Time will show whether Slovenia is still capable of doing so after all that has happened on our territory. We wish for all the best.

Federal Army Releases Over 1,000 Slovene Recruits

AU1508073091 Paris AFP in English 2317 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Aug 15 (AFP) — The Yugoslav Army released over 1,000 Slovenian recruits and will let more

than 800 more go before midnight Thursday [15 August], the Republic's Defense Ministry announced.

The Federal Army is responding to an ultimatum set by the breakaway republic's government, said the head of conscription at the Defense Ministry, Aleksandar Stular, quoted by the Slovenian STA news agency.

Nine Slovenian soldiers opted to stay in the Federal Army, Stular said Wednesday.

Following its declaration of independence on June 25, the Republic's Territorial Defense Force inflicted heavy losses on the Federal Army as it took control of its frontiers with Austria, Italy and Hungary.

On July 18, the Federal Army was ordered to withdraw its troops from Slovenia within a period of three months.

Meanwhile, the Croatian HINA news agency reported that the Army had decided to continue sine die obligatory military service in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Croatia

Cease-Fire Group Holds Talks in Borovo Selo

LD1508100991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0922 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Borovo Selo, August 15 (TANJUG)—Members of the Federal Ceasefire Control Commission in Croatia visited Borovo Selo today and talked with representatives of the Serbian people in the Croatian regions of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem.

Yugoslav State Presidency members Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic and Yugoslav Parliament Vice-President Irfan Anjanovic held talks behind closed doors on the situation in the region following the Yugoslav Presidency's decision on absolute ceasefire in Croatia.

The members of the commission came by helicopter to Bogojevo, a town in the Yugoslav province of Vojvodina, and were then transferred by Yugoslav People's Army armoured transporters via Erdut and Dalj to Borovo Selo.

Paper Profiles 'Mysterious' Leader Captain Dragan

LD1508042891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0140 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 15 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA today deals with the enigmatic Capt. Dragan, commander of special units in the Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) of Krajina in the Republic of Croatia, western Yugoslavia. He is credited with merits in his training and commanding the Krajina units in their clashes with the Croatian armed forces. The official Croatian authorities have not recognized the SAO of Krajina.

The true name of Capt. Dragan was kept secret, but BORBA at last came out with the claim that involved is Zivojin Vasiljkovic, 40, in all likelihood a Belgrader who as a child left Yugoslavia for Australia together with his parents.

Leaving in suspense those curious to know whether involved is a Serbian patriot of a mercenary paid by Serbian emigres, the paper wonders whether 'Cap D' is a 'veteran legionary, a retired officer of the Australian military academy, a businessman or a Yugoslav People's Army intelligence colonel.'

'Cap D' made his Belgrade appearance on the eve of multi-party elections late last year and those in the know claim that he cast his vote for the strongest opposition party in Serbia, the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the paper has it.

A short time ago, the SPO invited 'Captain Dragan' to come to the head of the Serbian Guard, a paramilitary formation formed in Serbia on this party's initiative.

The Serbian authorities oppose any forming of units of volunteers outside of the official territorial defence units. So far, 'Cap Dragan' has markedly kept clear of making his political mind known, except of being a soldier by profession.

Wondering whether Captain Dragan is due, after his split in public recently with Dr. Milan Babic, the SAO of Krajina president, to go down in legend, to go to Australia or to Serbia (to join the Serbian National Guard), BORBA intimates that the 3rd possibility is the likely one, should the mysterious 'Serbian Rambo's' wish for the Serbian Guard to become a none-party formation be fulfilled.

Bebic Expects 'Large-Scale' Army Attack 15 Aug

LD1408173191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army may launch a large-scale attack on Croatia tomorrow, Defence Minister of that Yugoslav republic Luka Bebic said on Wednesday. Croatia unilaterally proclaimed independence on June 26.

Bebic told journalists in Zagreb that this conclusion was based on intelligence from the country and abroad.

In his view, one of the indications is the disposition of Yugoslav Army units which have withdrawn from the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia in keeping with the Brioni Declaration. Another, he said, is the Army's inability to retain the existing level of alert of its units, "which is very expensive."

The Croatian defence minister said that Croatia would be ready for the attack and that it had "a certain quantity of anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons."

Croatia now manufactures many weapons which it did not have before, said Bebic.

At a press conference in Belgrade, member of the Yugoslav Presidency's ceasefire monitoring commission and vice president of the federal parliament Irfan Ajanovic conveyed the Yugoslav Army Command's stand that the claims about the Army's alleged action in Croatia tomorrow was "unfounded and probably along the lines of the propaganda war."

Guard, Militia Forces Gather Near Pakrac

AU1408134991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Zeljko Mandic report from Pakrac]

[Text] The situation in the western part of Croatia has become considerably more complicated, especially after the Serbs decided to set up the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia. A new front could be opened and there could be an open clash between Serbs and representatives of the Croatian authorities.

As we have learned, about 0500, a strong force of the Croatian Guard and militiamen took positions between Nova Gradiska and Stara Gradiska. Machine-gun nests were set up on (?all) strategic positions. According to the same source, the inhabitants of the Croatian villages in this region are being distributed arms.

We have also learned that the situation in Grubisno Polje, where shooting has been heard in the last few days, is also critical. We were told that the forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs have surrounded the Serbian village of (?Peratovica).

Shooting was also heard in the direction of Virovitica and Grubisno Polje last night and this morning. However, it is difficult to obtain new information. People are awaiting the upcoming days and nights ahead with fear.

According to some reports, the Croatian leaders, Messrs. Vekic and Ramljak, will visit Novska today.

'Lull' Descends on Osijek After 'Fierce' Clashes

LD1508063591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0029 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] Osijek, 15 Aug (TANJUG)—Last night around midnight a lull descended upon Osijek following two hours of fierce artillery clashes.

According to the Osijek police administration and the Osijek garrison command, shots were exchanged from various types of artillery weapons between the old and new part of the village of Tenja, as well as between Servas and Bijelo Brdo.

Radio Osijek reported that missiles fell on suburbs of Osijek, but this was not confirmed by the Osijek police administration. Before the firing started, Radio Osijek, at 2200, recommended that citizens find shelter.

Clashes also erupted in Baranja, in the vicinity of Beli Manastir, for the third night running. A series of explosions could be heard in Osijek around 2100, from that direction.

Several sources claim that shots were exchanged between the villages of Ugljes, populated by Serbs, and Ceminac, populated by Croats. Last night's artillery clashes were the fiercest in the last eight days, since the cease-fire was proclaimed.

Pakrac Assembly Relieves 30 Policemen

AU1408205291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] A single-nationality police force cannot work efficiently in a multinational community. To ensure the confidence of citizens, it is necessary to urgently adapt its national composition in Pakrac to the national composition of the commune's population. Politics should be eliminated from the police, and expertise and a high level of professionalism should be returned to the policemen.

As TANJUG reports, all this was said at a joint meeting of the president of the Pakrac Assembly and the president of the communal government with 30 Pakrac policemen who have left the police in the last three months and were released from their jobs by mutual consent. In presenting the position of the Bjelovar police administration, Milan Memic, head of the Pakrac police station, called on the policemen to return to the old service as things would then very quickly be put right, as he put it.

The police were left to think about this until the day after tomorrow and inform the Pakrac commune of this.

Croatian, Serbian Militia Gather Near Benkovac

AU1408144291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Milos Rajkovic report from Knin]

[Text] There is no peace in Krajina. Last night, just as the Serbian and Croatian prisoners were being exchanged, shots were fired at a police patrol in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina from the village of Biljane near Benkovac. Zoran Radmanovic (?was seriously wounded) while the other two members of the patrol were slightly injured.

As we were told by Milan Martic, minister of internal affairs of the Government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, the police patrol was shot at from the neighboring Croatian village of Korlat. According to Martic, the forces of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs and the Krajina Police are now gathering in this part of the Benkovac commune and there is a danger of a clash of wider proportions. Some sporadic shooting is also heard.

The exchange of captured Serbs and Croats that took place last night is the center of attention, and the Command of the Knin Corps held a news conference regarding this. Colonel Branimir Bajic stated that 28 Serbs—released from prisons in Zagreb and Sibenik—were exchanged for 47 Croats from the Knin prison. According to Colonel Bajic, 24 captive Serbs and Croats were also exchanged in the Sisak area.

The Yugoslav People's Army mediated and supervised the entire exchange, which I witnessed personally.

Serbia

Government on Croatia's Freezing of Relations

AU1408151091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Serbia has discussed the situation that has arisen with the decision by the Assembly of Croatia on freezing relations with Serbia. A decree was also adopted on the registration of volunteers in the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Serbia. This was said at a news conference regarding the session of the Government of the Republic of Serbia. Marinela Raznjatovic has the details:

[Raznjatovic] After several months of the new government working behind closed doors, the doors were opened slightly today. That is to say, it was decided that a news conference would be organized at least once a week after the government's sessions.

At the first one today, it was said that the government had discussed the situation that had arisen after the decision by the Assembly of Croatia to freeze relations with Serbia. The government considers the decision to be unconstitutional because Yugoslavia still exists, as well as all international documents and the Brioni Declaration.

It was also stated that there is no conflict between the Republics of Serbia and Croatia, but between the people who are in power in the Republic of Croatia and the ethnic Serbian citizens in Croatia. Therefore, the Government of the Republic of Serbia will ask the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to make the decision to ban the implementation of the provision of the Croatian Assembly on freezing relations and the confiscation of property in Croatia that belongs to enterprises and citizens from Serbia.

Regulation on Territorial Defense Approved

LD1408144391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade,14 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serbian government today approved the regulation on the enrollment of volunteers in the Serbian Territorial Defense.

At its session today the Serbian government discussed the consequences of the measures taken against Serbia by the president and government of Croatia and other Croatian authorities.

During a news conference, deputy prime ministers Budimir Kosutic and Nikola Stanic said that the Serbian government constantly monitors the measures taken by the Croatian government so as to be able to respond to them. They said the Yugoslav Constitutional Court will be asked to approve a decision banning the implementation of unconstitutional decisions made by Croatian authorities in relation to Serbia, Serbian firms in Croatia, and the property of Serbian citizens in Croatia.

Banks To Begin Forming Foreign Currency Reserves

LD1408101791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0902 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—All banks in Serbia will soon start buying foreign currency from citizens at a considerably higher rate of exchange than the present one.

TANJUG has learned that appointed business banks in Serbia have received an instruction from republican bodies to start buying foreign currency on behalf of the Republic of Serbia with an additional dinar incentive of 70 percent, the instruction says. Practically speaking, this means that all business banks in the Republic of Serbia will give 22 dinars for 1 Deutsche Mark, instead of 13 dinars, which is the current rate of exchange.

The office of the governor of the National Bank of Serbia has informed us that the bank has been empowered by the Republic of Serbia to send telexes informing business banks in Serbia about this decision and about the new rate of exchange in the Republic of Serbia. The instruction, as confirmed today, was received by Investbanka yesterday afternoon and Jugobanka this morning.

By this decision, the implementation of which will begin in a couple of days, the Republic of Serbia is, in effect, starting creating its own foreign currency reserves.

At the same time, the establishment of the real rate of exchange is expected to eradicate the so-called "black market rate of exchange".

Government Denies Legitimacy of Croatian Measures

LD1408200891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 14 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia decided today to demand that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia bans the Croatian authorities from implementing their unconstitutional decisions and that the federal government protects the property and citizens of Serbia in Croatia.

The vice presidents of Serbia, Budimir Kosutic and Nikola Stanic, told a press conference in Belgrade today that the government discussed the situation following the recent decision by the Croatian parliament to freeze relations with Serbia, and measures implemented by the Croatian organs against Serbia and the property of its citizens and firms in Croatia.

According to Kosutic, the Croatian parliament's decisions are completely incorrect because Croatia is not engaged in any kind of war or conflict with Serbia, but in question is a conflict between those who advocate democracy and support a united Yugoslavia, and those who urge the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the creation of an undemocratic and ethnically and religiously pure Croatian state.

Croatia is at war with its citizens, primarily the Serbs, against whom it is conducting a genocide, Kosutic said and added that the measures by the Croatian president, government and other Croatian organs, are illegal, not in keeping with the Yugoslav constitution and are contrary to international law.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

SDA Organizes Defense Headquarters for Muslims

LD1408143891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Pristina, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Numan Balic, chairman of the Democratic Action Party [Stranka Demokratske Akcije (SDA)] for Kosovo, told a news conference today that the party has set up a defense headquarters for Kosovo Muslims, based in Pec, "to organize self-defense of the Kosovo Muslims, if their physical existence is directly threatened." This was decided upon after SDA main branch consultations. The Kosovo headquarters will act within the framework of the Council for National Defense of Muslims, which was recently set up in Sarajevo.

The defence headquarters of the Kosovo Muslims will cease to operate when there is no danger from direct physical threat. Reasons for setting it up lie, Balic explained, "in the inability of the existing Federal institutions to guarantee the protection of this nation, as well as in the mobilization of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] reserve force." Balic expressed fear over the mobilization and, as he put it, the fact that the YPA is "now a Serbian army."

The SDA for Kosovo chairman assessed that Serbia "is carrying out colonial policy" in Kosovo and expressed the known assessements about Serbia, already voiced by many Albanian politicians and groups.

Balic said that he supports [Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President] Alija Izetbegovic in rejecting the Belgrade initiative. According to Balic, "the initiative is just a mask behind which agreements on the so-called fragmented Yugoslavia or a greater Serbia are being made, and it is part of the scenario which started with the so-called Muslim-Serbian accord," against which the SDA for Kosovo raises its voice.

Presidency Views Serbian Political Problems

LD1408185491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—We did not raise the issue of the book of rules on the work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to blackmail somebody or to make a political move, but only because we think it is impossible to work correctly and in harmony without drawing up a book of rules. We believe that a book of rules would contribute to the principled and well-organized work of the republic's presidency.

This was stated at a press conference today by Serbian members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic, who were explaining their decision to freeze their membership of the Presidency until the issue of the book of rules has been settled. They said that a session that they attended today was held in a more positive spirit and that the issue of drawing up a book of rules, which has so far been postponed, will be initiated tomorrow.

In their address to other members of the Presidency and to journalists, Nikola Koljevic and Biljana Plavsic said that the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is no longer acting as a collective state body in whose work they could take part on an equal basis and exercise an active influence on its decisions, conclusions, and stands. According to them, the Presidency has not yet adopted a platform on its own engagement in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

The Izetbegovic-Gligorov platform has not been accepted by representatives of the Serbian people, due to their intense conviction that the proposed model cannot function as a state. However, that platform is still being presented as an official platform of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Presidency president proceeds from it in his talks with other republican presidents and even seeks foreign support for options called for by the platform.

The president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, according to Koljevic and Plavsic, frequently acts as a president of the republic. Recalling our promises given in the election campaign about democracy and the law-governed state, the democratic public has several times presented demands that leaders of political parties should not simultaneously be state officials, and vice versa. In this way a party state as opposed to a law-governed state is being promoted. The Presidency president has assumed three incompatible functions: president of the Party of Democratic Action, president of the National Defense Council, and president of the National Defense Council of the Party of Democratic Action,

according to Koljevic and Plavsic. Commenting on the redeployment of the Army's 14th Corps in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Koljevic and Plavsic stressed that this was in accordance with the SFRY Presidency decision.

Party Wants Deployment 'Evened Out Nationally'

LD1408133691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—If the deployment of Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units on Bosnia-Hercegovina territory continues at the present pace, this republic could soon become a military training ground.

This was said during the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije (SDA)] news conference in Sarajevo today.

SDA Vice Chairmen Muhamed Cengic and Salem Sabic and spokesman Enes Delivija time and time again severely censured the YPA, primarily, they said, because of a lack of cooperation between military and civilian authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Like [Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President] Alija Izetbegovic, during his meeting with the press yesterday Muhamed Cengic stressed today that the SDA will ask the military command to have the YPA command cadre in Bosnia-Hercegovina evened out nationally. According to Cengic, all four YPA corps commanders are Serbs, and most probably the fifth corps in this republic will be led by a general who is a Serbian national.

Cengic said in this regard that the YPA will be asked to appoint at least two corps commanders who are Muslims. If this request is not met, the attitude toward the YPA will be totally changed. [passage omitted]

Cengic also said that the airport in Banja Luka was built with republican funds (60 per cent) and YPA resources (40 per cent) and that it is, therefore, more than a matter of surprise as to who could proclaim this airport a military airport and how this could have been done without any agreement by Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The SDA today announced an early meeting between top republican state entities and top YPA representatives.

Macedonia

Gligorov, Kadijevic Exchange Views on Army Issues

LD1408194891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Macedonian Presidency President Kiro Gligorov has sent a letter to the federal secretary for national defense. The Federal Secretariat for National Defense information service today delivered to TANJUG a translation of the letter and the reply of the federal secretary for national defense.

Gligorov's letter to Kadijevic.

"To the federal secretary for national defense, Army General Veljko Kadijevic,

"Dear Comrade Kadijevic:

"Following the adoption of the decision on the part of the SFRY Presidency to withdraw the units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] from Slovenia and the increasing number of armed clashes in Croatia, there is increased interest of parents in the republic of Macedonia in the situation of their children doing their military service in these areas, and there are increasingly vociferous demands for my personal involvement in their protection.

"Proceeding from the conclusions of the Macedonian Assembly and the Council for national defense, I am addressing you personally in support of the following:

"1. That it should be insured that soldiers from the Republic of Macedonia returning to Macedonia from units of army posts in Slovenia and Croatia serve the remainder of their military service in Macedonia, because a number of these soldiers are being returned to the same units, and this is giving rise to the indignation of parents and the public at large and is exacerbating attitudes toward the YPA.

"2. That soldiers who have remained in Slovenia and are honorably carrying out their military obligations should be able to use leave of absence and be placed in the same position as soldiers who have returned to the Republic of Macedonia.

"3. That all soldiers who are completing the term of their military service should leave the YPA immediately following the completion of their military service, without it being extended. At the same time they should be able to use all leave owing to them or which they have been awarded on various grounds.

"4. That soldiers from the Republic of Macedonia should not be sent to crisis areas of Yugoslavia.

"My letter is the result of the need to ensure greater protection of soldiers from Macedonia, since this republic has in no way contributed to the situation in the country and is not supporting the fratricidal war."

President of the Republic

Kiro Gligorov.

Kadijevic's reply to Gligorov.

"To the president of the Republic of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov:

"In connection with your letter of 8 August 1991, I would draw your attention to the fact that the solution of the question of recruits and manning the YPA in the way that you are advocating would mean that the YPA would cease to exist as one of the last common Yugoslav

institutions. This would at the same time be the end of Yugoslavia, whose preservation, if I am not mistaken, you are also calling for.

"Recruitment to the YPA is carried out strictly in accordance with the federal laws and other regulations and acts of the federal authorities. In this connection I am informing you that the competent military and territorial organs will assume the tasks relating to military service on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia as well by the end of this month."

Army General Veljko Kadijevic.

Skopje Daily Criticizes Milosevic Initiative

LD1408183691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1229 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Skopje, August 14 (TANJUG)—The Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA writes today that the latest initiative of the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, reflects "a hegemonistic stand" and "a desire for a greater Serbia."

At Milosevic's invitation, president of the Presidency of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic and the presidents of the assemblies of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina met with Milosevic in Belgrade last Monday and proposed an agreement for the preservation of Yugoslavia.

President of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic, a Moslem, did not accept the invitation, recalling his stand that Yugoslavia's future should be negotiated by all the six Yugoslav republics.

Party Calls For Mass Turnout at Referendum

AU1408194691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] calls on all members and sympathizers, as well as all citizens of Macedonia to turn out en masse to the referendum on 8 September and vote for a sovereign and independent republic of Macedonia with the right to join a union of sovereign states.

As stated at a news conference today, the referendum has historic significance for the Macedonian people in realizing their centuries-old ideal of an independent and sovereign state, which means the spiritual, cultural, and economic affirmation of the Macedonian people.

Like the Social Democratic Alliance recently, the VMRO-DPMNE has called on all parties in Macedonia to establish a moratorium on all confrontations between parties during the time the referendum is prepared and carried out.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Hails Belgrade Initiative

LD1408203691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Titograd, August 14 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Republican Presidency President Momir Bulatovic has said that the Belgrade initiative for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis urges a "state community of all those republics and nations who still wish to live in a common state."

In an interview which is published today in the Titograd daily POBJEDA, Bulatovic underscored that this initiative "does not force anything upon anyone, but offers to everyone equal rights and obligations which would be determined in and guaranteed by a new Yugoslav constitution." This initiative is a result of the meeting held on Monday in Belgrade which was attended, at the invitation of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, by Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic and the assembly presidents of these two republics nd of the central Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Although an invitation had also been sent to Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, he did not attend the meeting.

Bulatovic said that the Belgrade intiative shows without a doubt the desire that the republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia and Montenegro secure harmonious interethnic relations and new confidence between the Muslim, Serbian and Montenegrin people, because this is the elementary precondition for peace and democracy, at least in these republics.

Bulatovic expressed hope that "the development of the Belgrade initiative will continue, on the grounds of respect for these facts, already next week."